

UKIP and the Construction of Immigration in the Media: A comparison with the 1930s

A thesis submitted for the degree of Masters by Research (MbR)

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Declaration

Candidate's declarations:

I Juliette Hill, hereby certify that this thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Masters by Research, Abertay University, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. This work has not been submitted for any other qualification at any other academic institution.

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Supervisor's declaration:

I, Dr. J. Moir, hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Masters by Research in Abertay University and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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For Dyllon-Page and Christopher

Abstract

The UK Independence Party's main anti-EU criticism, targeted immigration and the free movement of people into Britain. UKIP, directly selected people from A2 European member states, Bulgaria and Romania, which the party leader, Nigel Farage, considered as 'less developed' countries. Immigration throughout Britain has received aggressive media attention. The research interest was to compare current media and political representation of immigration, immigrants, and refugees with historical categorisation during the 1930s, and in relation to those groups which were persecuted as the 'other' in ethnic categorisations. Drawing on critical discourse analysis the research examined Broadsheet newspapers during the periods 1939-45 and 2015-16. The analysis found a new method of approach to interpret story associations within headlines, articles and accompanying advertising. The findings suggested, that there are direct associations or prominent metaphorical references with regard to immigration, which are featured either next to, or within the same page as, contagion and or infectious diseases, commemorative celebrations and or references to nationalism. The findings suggested, that there are parallels in the circulation of nationalist discourse, which can be likened to historical language used during the 1930s and UKIP ideologies. It is argued that UKIPs immigration propaganda, shares a commonality with repeated forms of right-wing ideologies during the 1930s.

Keywords: UKIP; immigration; media, critical discourse analysis; national broadsheet newspapers; 1930s right-wing ideologies and propaganda.

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Introduction

The research reported on in this dissertation, concerned the rhetorical discourse which the UK independence party (UKIP) has used. More specifically, it was the discourse surrounding immigrant groups which the party targeted, questioning their moving to the UK from other East European, EU member states. The research interest from this perspective, was understanding and comparing current media and political representation of immigration, immigrants, and refugees; to historical categorisations during the 1930s and in relation to those groups which were persecuted as, the 'other' in ethnic categorisations.

As a national strategy, UKIPs political discourse shares a commonality throughout many European far right organisations, in terms of an anti-immigration stance. In the case of UKIP, this is bound up with a broader anti-EU criticism, which concerns immigration and the free movement of people into Britain and has been the main plank of its argument.

Article 45; the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) legislates the freedom of movement for workers. It was one of the founding principles of the EU and remains a fundamental right of workers. The legislation states, 'the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards to employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment' (TFEU: 15). It was the legislative act passed for the free movement of European Union Nationals which includes family members. The treaty therefore, offers unlimited access for all citizens to enter member states freely. Crucially, freedom of unlimited

access means, for all member states, there is no setting of barriers to immigration and no separate state can have their own points based system, on immigration.

In 2004, ten new former communist countries entered the European Union, making it the largest enlargement to date. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, this was an opportunity for the countries to be free, to join the EU and receive political inclusion, without setting immigration barriers.

As a way of rolling back the communist frontline and 'iron curtain', countries were welcomed into the EU. In terms of freedom of movement however, the implications were not given enough thought and arguable downplayed. The effect of the 'Great Recession' of 2008, became the game changer and has arguably led to where we are now, in terms of blaming immigration as the 'problem'. Immigration became the major topic for discussion among the mainstream political leaders, throughout the build up to the 2015 general election. Immigration throughout Britain, has received aggressive media attention, sometimes in terms of polarized positions. (Berry 2014). UKIP is the only electorate dominated almost exclusively, by support from people who perceive immigration from a negative perspective, confirming how anti-immigration sentiment is a central aspect of its appeal (Ford and Goodwin 2014)

The main concern for this research, was to examine media attention and representation for UKIPs political party campaign. Media attention, either positive or negative, can provide a platform for ideologies to manifest themselves for example, TV campaigns and the use of political posters, carried negative messages towards immigration. As a media based project, the research aim was to explore critical discourse analysis and target the role which media plays, as a political function. From this perspective, the body of research influences derived from contributors who, combined media and critical discourse analysis. TV and newspapers when presented,

act as powerful medium and for many people, the information which is received regarding ethnic minority groups is formulated (van Dijk 1987). It means that often, people often have stereotypical 'knowledge' about ethnic minorities even when they hardly ever have direct experiences with, or know people who have (van Dijk 1987 p 155).

The UK independence party was established in 1993, with a single founding policy, to campaign for the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union. UKIP presented National identity and 'Britishness' as an ideological theme against immigration, which then became the focus of political debate. It resulted with the coalition government, taking into account and restrict the numbers of Romanians and Bulgarians, speculated to enter Britain. The single founding policy, became a policy of 'ownership' for UKIP (Ford and Goodwin 2016), which combined complex media reporting on the fear of immigration and the free movement of people. UKIP claimed that, unprecedented numbers of Romanian and Bulgarians, would come to the UK. The claims were more likely to have been estimated on the numbers of people from Poland and Czechoslovakia, who entered Britain during 2004. However, and significantly, only three countries opened their borders at that time. Following Romania and Bulgaria's EU accession, twenty-five of the European member states, had all lifted Labour market restrictions. Romania's past as a Communist country, had meant limited contact with the UK which, unlike Poland, had established close ties with the UK, during World War II.

The Romanian Centre for European policies within Eurosfat (2014), provided four main reasons for delayed accession to Schengen; illegal migration, the internal political situation in the MS voting against, the public perception towards migrants and with regard to enlargement, and the Mechanism for Cooperation and Verification (CVM).

To address the requirements in more detail, the terms of 'Conditionality' for Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) meant that, for the first-time the political processes and state institutions for A2 Bulgaria and Romania's EU accession were based on additional conditions. This required each condition had to be met, before membership status would be permitted. The conditionality requirement formed a criteria fulfilment which had previously not been specified in the Treaties. The Copenhagen European Council detailed the areas of conditions which would permit EU membership. (CEC [C (2006) 6569 final]).

The issue-specific recommendations for Bulgaria benchmarks were: (1) Independence and accountability of the judicial system, (2) Reform of the judicial system (3) Reform and transparency of the judiciary (4) Fight against high-level corruption (5) Fight against corruption within local government (6) Fight against organized crime.

For Romania, the benchmarks were: (1) Judicial reform (2) Establishment of an integrity agency (3) Tackling high-level corruption (4) Fight against corruption within local government.

The Eurozone crisis initiated a rise to anti-EU political parties which combined the left and right. The changes led to an increase of anti-EU Members of the European Parliament (MEPs), throughout all 28 member states. UKIPs acceptance into mainstream politics was an important area to research, and the vote 2014 European Election campaign coincided with the start of this research analysis. The EU election requires people to vote from across the UK. Each person can elect from 73 Members of European Parliament (MEP), from within 12 regional constituencies.

At the start of the 2014 campaign, UKIPs main political focus was to control immigration and reduce the numbers of people coming to Britain. The period coincided

with media reporting, that unprecedented numbers of people would come to the UK from EU member states. Romania and Bulgaria were targeted as groups who, as culturally different, would be unable to integrate into Britain with media reports dedicating feature programmes to monitor a groups progress. With this in mind, political discourse and media reports which address groups of people as 'culturally incompatible', it avoids risk of criticism for example, incompatibility is not directly associated with overt xenophobia or racism. Cultural incompatibility, when used in political discourse has significant subtle tones for example, Hargreaves (1995 p 87), identified the term as 'unassailable', which was used historically to target and persecute groups, as 'others'. From this perspective, cultural incompatibility and unassailability are significant contemporary topics, which highlight ideological subtleties in political discourse and through media representation.

The extreme rhetoric used in relation to Germany Nazi ideology, serves as an ideal comparator discourse for UKIPs justification to target groups from Bulgaria and Romania. UKIP presented, National identity and 'Britishness' as ideological themes against immigration. Nationalism and fascism in contemporary media resonated as important areas to explore for example, in right wing ideology nationalism runs parallel with Britishness. Historical discourse associated with right wing political rhetoric were key areas of research interest for example, national unity, national pride, and national character and, with association to nationality, and palingenetic ultra-nationalism. When un-packed, palingenetic ultra-nationalism is an ideology which 'informs all its empirical manifestations' which exist through the organization, style, policies, behaviour, ethics, aesthetics etc. (Griffin 1993 p 100).

The idea of the ideology was used to support a vision of a nation being capable of an imminent phoenix-like rebirth, from the prevailing crisis and decadence. A

revolutionary new political and cultural order, which embraces all the 'true members' of the national community (Griffin 1993 p 100). From this perspective, the research concerns related to German Nazi ideology, which formed the justification of extreme persecution as a factual discourse.

Notably, the research concern does recognise that the world is a very different one from the period of the 1930s. For example, politically, the European Union was not in existence; Socially, attitudes have changed; reflexively, the 1930s was a period in history which is used for reference within public discourse. However, there are parallels in terms of utilising ideological propaganda, to the appeal of people in society who feel disenfranchised and left behind, from mainstream politics (Ford and Goodwin 2016). The parallel included similarities during times of austerity and a focus on anti-immigration. Additionally, contemporary media exposure makes for a more precarious situation.

Chapter 1, provides a literature review which identifies the main contributors. From a historical perspective, Hargreaves (1995) literature has highlighted the relevance of accounts from French society, in explicating the ways in which immigration and right wing ideology previously took root. It was a complete revelation with the similarities of what we are now witnessing in the UK. The work of sociologists and political theorists Ford and Goodwin (2016), highlighted the rise in popularity of UKIP and its appeal to the disenfranchised, working classes. Additionally, Griffin (1989) prompted a great deal of interest which surrounded the many faces of fascism. Combined, the works made the research hugely relevant and current.

Chapter 2, sets out the methodological approach undertaken with respect of the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The selection of material used in the analysis, identified a research gap. The gap seeks to consider the ideologies which UKIP and

media representations have used to target cultural differences, specifically those directed at Bulgaria and Romania. The most important aspect of research for critical discourse analysis, is to fully understand how complex language can be used to operate in a manipulative way. The method requires a sophisticated understanding of social and political issues and the contexts they are in. This can be used to fully appreciate how powerful discourse can form an ideological representation of a situation. With relation to immigration, multimedia provides the critical discourse analyst with the tools to examine the reproduction of social inequalities, through rhetorical ideologies.

The research gap concerned the format of three key associations to immigration, from a historical and contemporary perspective. Unassailable (Hargreaves 1995), paligenetic ultra-nationalism (Griffin 1991), and banal nationalism. The discourse surrounding each key association, was significant for comparative analysis into xenophobia, metaphor, and nationalism. Within the context, the research interest concerned nationalist criterion, which distinguishes one nation from another and determines who is a member of that nation for example, their national characteristics and heritage. From this view, political parties such as UKIP, attempted to set up national identity for example, Anglo Saxon as a national identity generates a positive and self-presenting attitude, with an unchanging and set character. Immigration is perceived as a threat, and culturally alien to the national characteristics for example, Britishness. The threat is something which contaminates or upsets that fixed heritage. Political and cultural factors encourage mainstream political parties to implement far right propaganda, Nationality becomes a fundamental subject of intense debate, throughout the political framework (Hargreaves 1995).

Chapter 3, sets out the findings from the research analysis. It was identified that previous research on immigration and media discourse had targeted right wing political discourse. For this research, it was important to target the opposite political direction regarding editorial slant. Within the left leaning press, we do not expect to find ideologies flourishing. Systematic evidence was gathered from a selection of historical newspapers, during the period of 1936-45 and the same current newspaper editions, during the period 2014-15. The findings suggested that ideologies are present within left leaning and questionably, the ideologies are ingrained in our national psyche.

Chapter 4, provides a discussion which debates the role of the media and UKIPs rise in popularity. Targeting cultural difference, unassailability, and palingenetic ultra-nationalism were repeated areas of ideological discourse and even more prominent in contemporary metaphors, significant through everyday text and talk. The surge of popularity for UKIP and the rise of populist nationalism, generated a significant area of interest to research, particularly from a historical comparative analysis during the 1930s and set against a contemporary timeframe.

Literature review

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature associated with far right-wing politics and their rhetoric on immigration. The review draws upon a range of disciplinary perspectives drawn from political science, sociology and critical discourse analysis. The main themes addressed, the political context and historical dimension of people categorised as culturally different, with relation to immigration, immigrant and refugee. Increased support for xenophobia and nationalism. The 'othering' process and the persecution of people and groups not perceived as native to a host nation.

the UK Independence Party (UKIP) had selected people from Bulgaria and Romania which the party leader, Nigel Farage, considered to be from 'less developed countries. The literature search coincided with increased media attention, as UKIP began their anti-immigration campaign message, by producing a series of disturbing posters during 2014. The Direct targeting and blaming immigration as responsible for taking British jobs and for the decline in the economy, was a theme shared and presented by other European member states. The rhetoric from far right political parties for example, France's Le Front National Party (FN), gained media attention which highlighted the similarities and shared political interest with UKIP for example, campaigning to leave the European Union and retain a national identity.

UKIP, Europe and far right publicity

In light of the current situation within the UK and with relation to the protectionism for native British jobs, the reading material sourced an initial historical insight, which was identified through the work of Hargreaves (1995). The work discussed former uses of political ideological strategies, which highlighted the direct implications and

consequences of continued immigration rhetoric. Hargreaves provided a good account of France, during the period 1920s for example, immigration and the threat to job losses, and the threat to France losing her national identity. Hargreaves detailed the journey of immigration and French nationality laws, which included an example of how political commentators, label immigration and use it as a tool, to act for acceptable resource, when an economy expands. Pointing to the US, Europe and Britain, Hargreaves work argued how labelling becomes particularly useful, within the scope of political rhetoric for example, the reverse happens when there is a shortage within the labour pool. The work provided a good insight of historical events, which resonated with the current situation in the UK, particularly the tensions which surrounded immigration. For example, when there is a shift in an economy, the whole political campaign attempts to blame immigration. It means that political ideologies are open to use rhetorical discourse which is equated to immigration and the concept of fear. The political campaign is not restricted to the parties from the left and the right, it includes all. For Hargreaves, these political and cultural factors had acted to encourage the mainstream political parties, to implement far right propaganda. Hargreaves emphasised, that nationality becomes a fundamental subject of intense debate throughout the political framework. The work was interesting in the sense that we are witnessing a similar situation, the re-emergence of French identity has become a prominent issue. The situation can also be identified within today's Britain, with increased support for UKIP, it has encouraged the rise of far-right ideologies to flourish. This is largely because the working class can lose sight of left wing political parties, who were previously traditionally identifiable. Hargreaves has demonstrated, that once established, prejudices continue even when a person has become national to that country.

An interesting link within the work, was the comparison to the labour shortages during the 1920's. Hargreaves (1995: p: 7) discussed the principle 'pull' factors for recruiting foreign labour into France, one of which was the amount of lives which were lost following the Second World War. For the people migrating to France, Hargreaves account has explored how people felt 'pushed' to leave their home countries, but were motivated to go, by economic interests for example, a move to another country could provide opportunities which could improve living standards, from current ones (p:7). The topic resonated with the research interest for this thesis furthermore, the work addressed a period when Europeans dominated immigration. Hargreaves referred to immigration as a term used in France which, reflected the centrality of discourse during the period of the 1980s and 1990s. Using the term in everyday language represents people who move from one country to another. However, additionally the term immigration points to everything which associates a person. For example, from within a receiving society, immigrant is associated with the permanent settlement of a person from a foreign country and or origin.

Pointing to the same period, France additionally witnessed both political and public opinion had focussed heavily on immigration, which resulted as a serious threat to French national identity. Hargreaves explained the predominant countries which were effected by migrating to France, during the period these included, Islamic, former French colonies from North and West Africa. The central argument within the political discourse, had been the requirement for 'integration'. The word, integration was particularly thought provoking, UKIP and right wing discourse repeatedly refer to integration as fundamental to British national identity. Hargreaves (2007 p 4), expanded, pointing to the inability to integrate further, by terming this as unassailability. For France, the context was in the unwillingness of groups who move

to a new country, to adjust to the new set of cultural norms. The unassailability becomes unquestionable, to defeat or to argue about.

National identity had been a significant ideology used by UKIP as part of their Eurosceptic policy. UKIP directed remarks at Romania and Bulgaria and questioned both countries inclusion into the European Union and was the concern for this research interest. The work of Hargreaves, although concentrating on French identity with regard to immigration, was significant. The work, although it considered former colonial territories and Islamic countries, provided good comparisons, which were used and related for all groups. For certain groups of people who move to other countries, some are labelled with the same problem, the inability to integrate or 'unassailable'.

For Romania and Bulgaria as European Union member states targeted by UKIP, both have been criticised for their inability to integrate into British life. UKIPs nationalist tones were apparent from sourcing media material for this research, and were identified at the start of the vote 2014 campaign for example, Nigel Farage made media comments about 'feeling anxious' when he did not hear the 'English language when on public transport' (Phipps 2014). This form of ideology has been used and delivered by previous right wing political organisations, and has interacted with the role of empire and British life. From this perspective, integration to British life corresponds with Hargreaves (2007) and the literature, which draws on French life, has discussed previous migrating groups to the country. Consequently, the migrants were blamed for an unwillingness to adjust to their new cultural norms. Additionally, the literature revealed how extreme right support in Europe, can be identified with the UK, corresponding with the threat towards cultures for example 'It is not so much that they are against foreigners, but they feel the urge to defend their stock; they see

foreigners as a threat to the integrity of their people and culture' (Klandermans & Mayer 2006 p 271).

Britishness and 'Englishness' are terms which have been used within right wing discourse and sourced through the literature of Richardson (2008). Interestingly, the work related to the interactions of role and empire within British life. The concept of managing people as 'things', provoked an interest with relation to the idea that a British perception, according to Richardson, are based on, a right to manage 'things' within the 'interest of our nation' (2008 p 321)

Englishness, was one of the concerns for this research, as part of the rhetorical discourse from UKIP, importantly Englishness and Britishness have also been identified and categorised with the idea of integration. It would appear to be an ideology which has been used historically throughout right wing rhetoric. Nationality can be used to mobilise a diverse array of supporters. Hargreaves has expanded on the idea unassailability and although the main emphasis concerned national identity in France throughout different periods, the materials primary focus was with the idea of integration following immigration. For example, during the 1980s, France witnessed a rise in the support for the right wing political party, Front National (FN), the period also witnessed a campaign which was built on fear, which pointed to the consequences of immigration. Hargreaves had noted many similarities during the period 1980s for example, forming a political platform which paved way for the left and right parties to implement the debate of national identity. Hargreaves, from this perspective, had related to a similar set of circumstances which associated immigration and integration, with France's rejection of both. People were additionally categorised and labelled as being difficult, or impossible to integrate into society. From this perspective, the political debate of immigration and the idea of unassailability

becomes a useful term, the association with the current media reporting, and political representation of immigration throughout Europe and crucially the UK.

Banal nationalism

Academic concepts associated with nationalism, provided a good basis to address research concerns on contemporary immigration and are an interesting way in which to consider interpretation. For example, one term which was sourced from the literature of Billig (1995), addressed the use of 'Banal nationalism'. Banal nationalism, works within the daily scope of rhetorical discourse, rather than the extreme form of nationalism. What was interesting, Billig argued that reminders of our national identity, can be found through routine signals and media representation. These are found through habits of language and symbols. Billig has argued that the reminders have become so commonplace, that people are continually made aware of national identity by subtle ways. The idea was particularly thought provoking when connecting the support for UKIP and far right ideologies. Billig has demonstrated, how national identity works through the constant 'flagging's' or reminders which we receive (p 38). The main point which did resonate for this research, surrounds the rhetoric from UKIP which made reference to 'Englishness' and identity and an ideology which has focussed on bringing a nation together. The ideology for example, which was used during the monarchy celebrations for the Queen's birthday during 2012 and 2016. 'Flagging' or reminders of our nationality were commonplace as a euphoric explosion. The birthday celebration event included heavily televised media, reporting and references to patriotism and nationalism, particularly in England.

Banal nationalism, was a concept which for Trilling (2012), meant that right wing parties mobilise in their rhetorical discourse. This works through media and everyday

language to contribute in the pursuit of their ideologies. In turn these provided the dynamics for a growth of popularity and support. From this perspective, UKIP have repeatedly targeted Romania and Bulgaria as 'unsuitable' European Union member states. With this in mind, the term banal nationalism, resonated to form as a useful concept. Trilling (2012) and Billig (1995), each shared a common interest in the scope of banal nationalist discourse, which becomes a routine expression. For example, 'In Britain, the far right has often been treated as an aberration, a foreign malady imported into an otherwise tolerant milieu...[But] by regarding them in isolation, we can also miss what they share in common with the political mainstream, the sources from which their propaganda draws its appeal' (Trilling 2012, p.6). It is through this form of discourse analysis that contemporary ideologies can therefore be categorised. Nationalism and fascism resonated for the current research interest, requiring further exploration of right wing propaganda and contemporary media reporting of in nationalism and Britishness.

The politics of contemporary immigration

The earlier literature of Ford and Goodwin (2012), addressed the attraction of support for the British National Party (BNP). The literature additionally, questioned the motivation of extreme right party activism, which was interesting in the sense that, not only did the literature consider British participation, it resonated with this research interest to include extreme party' Front National (FN) in France. The literature identified for example, that most people who were likely to support extreme political groups had previously been apolitical and that 'new recruits have little or no experience in the political arena prior to joining' (pp 31-54). From this perspective the use of banal nationalist discourse which was presented by UKIP resonated for this research.

Immigration became the fundamental ownership policy for UKIP (Ford and Goodwin 2014).

During 2013 UKIP transformed what had been a low salience topic, that of European membership within British politics and used the opportunity as a Euro-sceptic party to gain support as a populist radical right party. UKIP campaigned heavily on immigration and also as a 'populist critique to established politicians'. The topic of immigration became the 'leading issue for public concern' (Ford and Goodwin 2015 p. 172).

Dennison and Goodwin have argued, that because support for UKIP is predominantly found through the working class, it posed as a significant threat to Labour, not just the Tories as has been assumed. Additionally, the literature discussed how UKIP was able to claim partial vindication from their original estimation, that unprecedented levels of migrants would enter Britain, essentially this was because by the end of 2014, the numbers of people from both member states had doubled to 46,000. Britain's economic erosion and the destruction which occurred throughout social structures, Dennison and Goodwin referred as, 'due to the decline of the manufacturing industry over the past fifty years' (2015 p 172).

Dennison and Goodwin's literature, explained how traditional manufacturing was replaced by a service-based society, noting that 'during 1964 half of British workers were in manual work, 70 per cent of voters had no educational qualifications, over 40 per cent of workers belonged to a trade union, 30 per cent relied on the state for housing and 98 per cent of voters were white' (2015 pp 168-187). The decline of the traditional industries and the trade unions which, included the gap between incomes and prospects, have all meant that the representation for the low-skilled blue collar worker have become marginalised from political changes. There are generational aspects which appeal to UKIP voters and according to Dennison and Goodwin, those

born between 1960s and 1970s had 'perceived a new Britain as a country that stood apart from Europe, and remember a nation that once sat at the heart of an Empire' (2015 p. 280).

Interpretations of Nationalist ideologies

One theme which resonated for this research was again, found in the literature of Ford and Goodwin (2012). Pointing to the previous failures for British far right organisations which campaigned for racial nationalism, Ford and Goodwin have also made the distinction between the UK traditional support in France and Italy. Many of the French and Italian supporters were coalesced into the extreme right movement through 'family tradition of ethnic nationalism or sympathies of historic fascism'. Ford and Goodwin (2012) had focussed on recent accounts of similarities between UKIP and the far right British Nationalist Party and discussed how both parties recruit electorates that shared key features. The literature identified populism and anti-immigrant hostility furthermore, that both UKIP and the BNP support does not just appeal to the disconnected from mainstream parties.

Palingenetic ultra nationalism

The literature identified from Griffin (1993), described a useful term which was also significant to use for this research project. Palingenetic ultra-nationalism or a 'national rebirth', described fascism by its core myth. Griffin has associated the term as a unique synthesis of ultranationalism. From this respect, ultranationalism was compared to ethnocentrism, which arise from intrinsic ambiguities and from the concept of 'nation' (Griffin 1993 p 100). Furthermore, Griffin has used the description, to define the ways in which racism becomes legitimised and rationalised, as a form of xenophobia (1993).

The term differentiates fascism from authoritarian ideologies and para-fascism, which Griffin refers to as the 'fascist minimum' arguing, without which, there is no fascism (Griffin 1993).

The definition of fascism is 'a political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations as a palingenetic form of populist ultranationalism' (Griffin 2003 pp. 97-122). For this research, the interest resonated with the palingenetic ultranationalism and in association with UKIP. When un-packed from this respect, palingenetic ultranationalism described an ideology which 'informs all its empirical manifestations', which importantly are the organization, style, policies, behaviour, ethics, aesthetics etc. (2003 pp. 97-122). To expand the idea, an ideology is put into place and used to gain support for a vision, of a nation being capable of imminent phoenix-like rebirth, from a prevailing crisis. A decadence in a revolutionary new political and cultural order, embracing all the 'true members' of the national community (1993 pp. 97-122).

With this in mind, investigating historical discourse analysis and with reference to xenophobia, palingenetic ultranationalism, became a useful source, which can be used when highlighting some of the similarities and or new interpretations for terms. For example, the political ideological representations of migrant groups from previous forms of racism were connected to the notion of genetic superiority, which also connected to cultural differences. From this aspect, considering the increased populist support for nationalism, Ideological propaganda tools have been used in discourse. These are all interesting theories to interpret nationalistic rhetoric and have been recognised by exploring leading contributors from the field. By combining their material with discourse analysis has been useful in tracing. There are links between contemporary rhetoric, which can be compared to those from historical events and new interpretations from nationalist ideologies, have become fundamental to this

research interest. Having been ignited through sourcing contributor's material on nationalist discourse, the ideologies used to promote a nation and the strength of togetherness, has resonated with this research concern and particularly ideologies surrounding UKIPs 'Englishness' or Britishness, when used against people coming from Bulgaria and Romania.

When describing a national community, Griffin (1993) made reference to the association of the British Union of Fascists. The literature combined a series of political, social and psychological theories and for contemporary politics used fascism as a generic term. Fascism was discussed at length throughout the work of Sternhell (1979), who expanded on the differences between francophone fascism and fascist ideology. The work attempted to define and categorise fascism using a very good example of Nolte (1965). According to Sternhell, who critically condemned the description of phenomenological principles, did however reinforce Nolte's categorisation, as being the least used theory of generic fascism. From this perspective Griffin's literature associated with the research and provided an interesting discussion of extreme and conservative movements, as alternatives to the obvious associations of fascism with Hitler and Mussolini. The term fascism, albeit difficult to apply within discourse analytic research, does hold weight when examining right wing rhetoric.

Xenophobia and Populism

Throughout their literature, Cutts, Ford and Goodwin (2010) have argued that UKIP support was predominantly viewed as, a more acceptable and credible political choice than to vote for the British Nationalist Party (BNP). According to Ford and Goodwin BNPs supporters were older generation working class men. UKIP had gained support

in recent British electoral cycles from highly salient issues through immigration and peoples anxieties over Muslim integration, which are all important drivers of support for the extreme right BNP. However, Ford and Goodwin have also argued, that the support for UKIP was motivated through xenophobia and populism and as a consequence, UKIP has been successful at attracting support from people who are concerned about immigration and hostile to immigrants, but are not necessarily openly hostile to British ethnic minorities.

A significant point identified for the research interest, was that the concern was not with the notion of Islamophobia and the fear of terrorism in relation to UKIP supporters. Islamophobia, is the rejection of Islam. The research reported on in this dissertation, concerned the rhetorical discourse which the UK independence party (UKIP) has used. More specifically, it was the discourse surrounding immigrant groups from Bulgaria and Romania, which UKIP targeted. UKIP questioned both countries about their motives for moving to the UK from Eastern Europe as EU member states. The research interest from this perspective was understanding and comparing current media and political representation of immigration, immigrants, and refugees. To the historical categorisation during the 1930s. The interest concern was additionally in relation to those groups which were persecuted as the 'other' through ethnic categorisations. Within this scope it was the populist discourse used towards specific EU member states and the use of nationalism and national identity in Britain, which was the aim of the research.

Conclusion

The literature on the historical dimension of how people have been previously categorised with relation to immigration, immigrant and refugee provided a useful

baseline for the current project. The literature has benefitted from an understanding of the previous treatment towards cultural differences functioning within the political context. Historically, xenophobia and populism had provided an opportunity for nationalist tones to gain support. The theme has remerged and appeals to anti-immigration, as a threat and as a reason to protect 'native' jobs.

The literature revealed an interesting set of comparisons in the labour shortages during the 1920's. Subsequent events during the 1930s, witnessed a period of economic depression and as a consequence, the situation provoked xenophobic reactions. In some cases, lead to the deportation of people. By examining historical accounts, one explanation highlighted as a key point of interest, was the 'othering' process, which led to previous persecution for some groups. People and groups not perceived as native to a host nation, was a popularity tactic during the 1930s, which also developed from the support of right wing ideologies.

Contributors associated with the literature review, have provided a good understanding in the decline of traditional industries and trade unions, and have explained the contributory factors as reasons for the rise in UKIP support. Immigration has become one of the most pressing issues in contemporary politics. Englishness and identity has been a significant nationalist ideology used by UKIP, as part of their Eurosceptic policy therefore, contemporary literature has been used to explore the concepts of nationalism, national identity and Englishness, in the daily scope of rhetorical discourses. The literature review has identified three main terms to explore for this research and as a contemporary way to interpret political rhetorical discourse in media representation; unassailability, Banal nationalism and palengenetic ultra-nationalism.

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

The literature material identified throughout the previous chapter, provoked an interest to explore primary sources, in the form of newspaper print, during the period of the 1930s. The political tensions and situations during that time, had witnessed groups or 'others' as targets for blame and at the start of 2014, UKIPs anti-immigration rhetoric targeted A2 countries, Bulgaria and Romania. UKIP produced a series of political speeches and campaign posters, associating both groups as precipitants of UK benefits tourism.

Britishness and identity, has been a significant ideology used by UKIP, as part of their Eurosceptic policy. In relation to this, contemporary literature was used to explore nationalism, national identity and Britishness, particularly in the daily scope of rhetorical discourses within media representation. Three key terms taken from previous contributors within political science and sociology, were identified as useful terms for this research. To use as a contemporary method, for examining and interpreting political rhetorical discourse through media representation. The terms identified are: unassailability, Banal nationalism and palengenetic ultra-nationalism.

Following consideration of all the literature associated with the research, it was recognised, that there were specific areas which identified a gap for new research. All the research approaches have offered a multi-modal aspect of investigation, which has been re-worked into a research question:

Research question

Constructing Immigration: are there comparisons between UKIP ideologies and the anti-immigration situation during 1930s?

In order to address the main question concern, three sub questions needed to be explored:

- To make a comparative analysis of UKIPs use of rhetoric during the period 2015, with the historical language from 1930s.
- To examine historical and mainstream media for evidence of derogatory speech used in metaphors directed at immigration.
- To investigate contemporary terms of unassailability, banal nationalism and palengeneric ultra-nationalism with relation to others and cultural differences.

Qualitative Methodology

As part of the social sciences, critical discourse analysis (CDA), examines the everyday use of text as a complex meaning. CDA analyses how discourse connects with systems for example, CDA is critical as an ideological focus. The discursive practices examine content and form in vocabulary and grammar. The main interest for the critical discourse analyst is that 'discourse should be studied as a language in use' (Cameron 2001), essentially it is the 'what and how language communicates when it is used purposefully' (2001 pp 30-34)

Critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research, that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted (van Dijk 2001). For example, patterns of access to discourse in the media, can be used to

determine who receives preferential access. From a journalist perspective, this can include the opinions which may influence the public and with the exception of letters sent directly to the editor, this means that the public generally only have passive media as readers or as viewers (van Dijk 1990 p. 83). This form of methodology can be used to consider the shifting nature of power relations between political ideology and media representation. Within the social sciences critical discourse analysis has established itself, the abbreviation of CDA is a recognisable approach for qualitative research, 'an intellectual orthodoxy' (Billig 2002 p 44). Critical discourse analysts conduct research in solidarity and co-operation with dominated groups (van Dijk 2001).

CDA shares with the tradition of critical theory, an interest in hierarchical power over dominated groups in society for example, exclusion and subordination. The shared background of a Marxist approach related to periods during late capitalism. From this aspect the shared background has enabled many critical discourse analysts to 'claim a strong intellectual affinity with this intellectual current' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999. p 242). The most important aspect of research for a critical discourse analyst, is to fully understand how complex language can be used to operate in a manipulative way. The method required a sophisticated understanding of social and political issues within context, and in order to fully appreciate how powerful discourse can be used to form an ideological representation of a situation. A qualitative approach was the most suitable framework for investigation into media representation.

Process of Analysis

The initial search strategy took place at the central library at Dundee however, it was quickly identified that only a limited amount of Scottish newspaper publications was

available for the 1930s period. As a result, direct contact and membership was made with the National Library of Scotland (NLS) based in Edinburgh. The service offered an extensive range of archival research material and the additional benefit of reading rooms. The NLS facilities included excellent and in-depth selections of both historical national broadsheet newspapers and tabloid press editions.

The archives provided a good choice of materials to search for information, all of which were printed during the 1930s. The initial method selected for analysis, was a choice taken from historical and current broadsheets newspaper articles. The idea was to search for specific repeated words found in text and talk for example, Britishness and Nationalism. The objective was to compare the words for any evidence of an emerging pattern, which could be associated with rhetorical discourse, and with relation to immigration. The Manchester Guardian and the Daily Herald were the named editions selected for the research and for a number of reasons; as a result of their readership audience; both broadsheets are identified as highlighting the concerns from the political central and central left readership; both newspaper's provided a copy from every daily and weekly edition during the period of 1930s to 1945.

The literature associated with the research, had identified that leading contributor's approaches had previously demonstrated analysis, which favoured the political right wing discourse and more often concentrated on the legitimacy within right wing political communication. For example, Chateris-Black (2005), identified a corpus of written sources, which were specifically targeted at right-wing transcriptions, which were taken from the conservative party and British National party manifestos. The sources also included written components from Migrationwatch UK, the Daily Telegraph and the Daily Mail. All of which are synonymous with the right and centre right readership.

In comparison Wodak & Meyer (2009), used an analytic process that was inductive. The process included a concern for the use of metaphor as a rhetorical device within political discourse and an examination of ideological elements, within the layout and design of a newspaper page. Wodak & Meyer, used a multi modal research framework that adopted combined elements from, critical discourse analysis and semiotic analysis. The process had involved consideration of the structures between the headline description and the placement of accompanying articles, including metaphors and with relation to immigration, national identity and stories.

Although a similar approach was used for this research, it adopted for the analysis, a method which was not a defined process. The process was an act of looking for ideological elements within the layout and design of a newspaper page. Using a multi-modal research framework in this way, combined critical discourse analysis and semiotic analysis which considered each structural element. For example, the headline description and the placement of accompanying articles, including metaphors with relation to immigration, national identity and stories.

Only broadsheet editions which contributed to the political interests during the 1930s and 2014-2016 were selected to use for a search strategy. Broadsheets use a traditional approach to journalism and may sometimes write in a more balanced manner however, their editorial slant is usually detectable. The tabloid press was deliberately avoided as the focus leans towards the sensational and dramatic stories which may not be factual. The added value was through the comparative process between the 1930s and the same broadsheets from 2014-16.

Statement of Focus

A significant point for this research interest, was that it was not concerned with people in the UK from Muslim backgrounds and or their countries which have been a clear target for the UKIP political campaign. Nor was the notion of Islamophobia and the fear of terrorism in relation to UKIP supporters. Islamophobia, is the rejection of Islam. The research concern was not to examine discourse directed at a groups religious belief, it was concerned with the targeting of two countries Bulgaria and Romania as A2 European Union member states. Both countries became a target for UKIP as countries with weaker economies and for that reason, their move to Britain was to obtain welfare through 'benefit tourism'.

The research interest from this perspective was to compare printed media reports on the political representation of immigration, immigrants, and refugees, to the historical categorisation of groups persecuted as 'other' during the 1930s. Within this scope it was the populist discourse used towards specific EU member states and the use of nationalism and national identity in Britain, which was the aim of the research.

Mapping a newspaper-process of analysis

A sampled collection of historical and contemporary broadsheet newspapers was used to compare story organisation and the structures, within the overall layout of the newspaper. Once familiarised with the organisation of each page, the original version of the Manchester Guardian during the period 1936-45, was compared to the now named Guardian, during 2014-15. Essentially the methodological approach systematically mapped through a series of each selected newspaper format and compared historical and contemporary editions, to find comparative stories which related to immigration topics. An interpretive stance examined the discursive content

which, surrounded the discourse and rhetoric within each print format. By using a range of multi-modal resources, it included both semiotic and critical discourse analysis.

The analysis observed the headlines, the positioning of articles and any of the accompanying advertising messages. Advertising provided interesting links to accompany factual stories. Although these may not be intentional from the point of the newspaper organisation, adverts can be used to interpret ideological associations from the patterns and sequences within a page. Parallels may also be made when, analysing modern media for far right political ideologies and by comparing these with historical forms of propaganda. For example, contributors to CDA research have demonstrated how, rhetorical discourse has manipulated and shaped populations, even when this was not designed to do so as such for example, 'seeing language not in itself, but as evidence for what is happening across a much wider network' (Breeze 2011 pp 493-525). CDA can observe analysis and Breeze has previously argued, that it also combines 'a principled and transparent shunting backwards and forth between, the micro analysis of texts using varied tools of linguistic, semiotic and literary analysis, and the microanalysis of social formations, institutions and power relations that these texts index and construct' (Luke 2002 p 100).

Multi-Modal analysis

For the purpose of this research CDA has used contextual levels in which to analyse. There are ways that written and visual elements can be used, as combinations to analyse or to create, or to reinforce a political ideological effect. The analysis had a clear political agenda, in the sense that it was specifically targeted at the ways in which ideologies and propaganda have been used by UKIPs campaign, during the run up to

the 2015 general election. Many critical discourse analysis researchers have addressed issues which surround racism, nationalism and xenophobia. All the literature has resonated heavily to specific areas of this research investigation furthermore, each contributor has demonstrated the additional benefits of using multi-modal qualitative resources. Therefore, for the purpose of this analysis the approach method was to combine micro analysis and 'examine the communicative potential of visual elements' in the way 'these can create moods and attitude, convey ideas, create flow across the composition, in the same way that there are linguistic devices for doing the same in texts' (Machin 2007 p xi).

The method provided a different system to examine page layouts and story associations, by using each pattern and sequence within each page. The system exposed how some messages can be interpreted when intermingled within a pattern. The pattern system can be interpreted as a visual story association additionally; it can expose a hidden meaning or a journey plan once it has been observed.

Included in the scope of the multi-model method was, a live TV performance by the mainstream political leaders, during the run up to the general election. the BBC Election Live debate provided coverage on the 2nd April 2015, and seven party leaders participated in the debate. The programme was broadcasted over a two-hour period and each leading politician was given a solo slot and allocated a period of time to address the main party policies, across to the audience. During UKIPs time slot, the party leader, Nigel Farage, continually associated metaphors and made references with relation to contagion and immigration. Following the allocated time, the party leaders were offered the chance to answer questions, from members of the audience and Nigel Farage continued to associate immigration with welfare abuse.

In addition to the live TV programme, the research also examined radio broadcasts over the period of 2012-15 for example, the BBC inside out programme on radio 4 featured 'the Roma' January 16th 2013. The programme targeted the Roma community in Page Hall an area of Sheffield. The 'Today' programme on radio 4 featured 'The truth about immigration' on the 7th January 2013 which coincided with UKIPs attack and warning of the 'influx' of Bulgarian and Romanian people following entry into the European Union (Humphreys 2014).

With this in mind, the analysis considered certain instances and the contexts which they can be found in. As discussed, there are many different approaches of research styles which can be applied for the critical discourse analyst however, all CDAs share the role of exploring the production and reproduction of power relations within social structures (Meyer 2001; van Dijk 1993; Wodak 2001a; Wooffitt 2005). For example, van Dijk, referred to power relations in the selection and prominence of issues and topics. Here it was argued are preferred by white political corporate, social or scholarly elites and their institutions, which are based on stereotypical when it comes to immigration. That the negative association carries with it a view of problematic or an invasion (1990 p 93).

Using critical discourse analysis as a qualitative means of research investigation provided the freedom to combine multi-modal interpretive measures. For example, the theoretical notion of discourse which defines the start and finish point of communicative contexts, required using different tools for analysis. Components are combined into larger constructs (van Dijk 1997 p 5) and one of the main interpretive measures adopted for this research analysis, was historical discourse analysis (HDA). The discourse historical school originated from van Dijk (1991). The method was used for this analysis when comparing the representation of and fundamental for the initial

stages of material gathering. Using historical rhetorical discourse to observe newspaper print, was an important tool when analysing themes of political nature. Wodak 's (2009) historic approach of discourse, additionally demonstrated, how it can be a particularly useful method when analysing into the area of political ideologies. The analysis demonstrated an approach which, used an example to highlight areas within the study of racism, anti-Semitism and nationalist rhetoric. Wodak argued that 'there is no one Critical Discourse Analysis approach, that all the CDAs approaches have their own theoretical position combined with a specific methodology and methods' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001 p 63-95). Therefore, the method selected for this research technique, applied a different means of investigation to that of previous contributors.

For this research, it was important to use an approach that combined the evidence from the 1930s, when the period witnessed economic depression and as a consequence, the situation provoked a xenophobic reaction, which in some cases lead to the deportation of people. By examining historical accounts, it can expose similarities in political themes and a key point of interest was the ways in which the othering process led to the persecution of groups for example, people not perceived as native to a host nation and the persecution of groups was a popularity tactic during 1930s which developed from the support of right wing ideologies.

Ethical concerns

There were no ethical concerns prior to the initial stages of the research analysis. Throughout conducting the research all of the material which was used was available in the public domain and freely accessible within public libraries. Published copyright

material through the form of books and transcriptions was obtained using approved articles and journals and again without any ethical concerns.

Conclusion

The selected research method was designed to target UKIP and their pre-election campaign tactics, to explore for any evidence which could be used to highlight any direct references which related to nationalism or Britishness. Both the newspaper editions time frames were selected, as periods which shared some similarities for example, times when austerity and economic instability increased the fear among the population. Throughout Europe we are currently witnessing a rise in the popularity for far right organisations and support for neo-fascism. During the 1930s a similar situation of instability paved the way for groups within society to be persecuted. For this research analysis the focus was directly concerned with UKIPs rhetorical discourse as the central theme. A direct target was to compare contemporary political propaganda within mainstream media relating to immigration, to the historical ideological discourse which related to others.

By using tangible documents such as newspapers and posters the research method demonstrated factual recorded evidence. Facts become visible documented pieces of interpretive analysis that can also reveal the social context in which to compare the historical with the contemporary. Critical discourse analysis provided the freedom to explore all interpretive methods from a broad range of historical and contemporary materials. The method was not to investigate one area of theory, but importantly used to provide a layout of interpretive possibility. Critical discourse analysis can be used as an alternative or as a complimentary analytic framework. For that reason, critical discourse analysis should be considered as a methodology that holds credence and

weight. Importantly the Critical Discourse Analysis method can demonstrate how, with the use of different forms of discursive evidence in rhetorical discourse, the approach can fit together pieces of information from a broad spectrum of materials.

The research method for this thesis, systematically sourced a selection of historical newspapers from the then named Manchester Guardian and the Daily Herald, during the period of 1936-45. Both national broadsheet newspapers are synonymous with the political left and centre left readership. The newspapers were used to make a comparison with the same contemporary editions during the period 2014-2015. The qualitative methodology was used to, systematically explore a selection of broadsheet newspapers from the historical period during, 1930s and to make a comparative analysis with the same editions during 2015. Specifically, the qualitative method was selected as being the most appropriate way in which to use critical discourse analysis, to examine ideology and propaganda in mainstream media. Importantly the research focus had a clear political agenda in the sense that, it was specifically targeted to the ways in which ideologies and propaganda were used by the UK independence party, during the 2015 election campaign. Historically propaganda was used to encourage racist and xenophobic attitudes. By comparing language and rhetorical discourse in contemporary forms of propaganda, the method scrutinised evidence for story association and page layout in newspaper print.

The multi-modal analysis additionally examined a live TV performance by the mainstream political party's which focussed on targeting UKIP's leader Nigel Farage. A number of live radio broadcasts were analysed, prior to the general election 2015, a UKIP political campaign poster and a UKIP campaign leaflet. By using primary sources facts became visible documented pieces of interpretive analysis that can provide an alternative or complimentary analytic framework. Critical discourse analysis

provided the tools to explore a series of materials to interpret political ideologies through media language and representation. The approach combined insight with examination of instantiation at the level of contextual analysis.

For the researcher of CDA the method required a broad spectrum of economic and political understanding to carry out the analysis in the first instance. Fundamentally it combined a focus on breadth and theoretical insight with an examination of instantiation at the level of contextual analysis. The research was important from a societal concern, as UKIPs strategical use of modern ideology and propaganda has targeted immigration as the cause of all the economic downturn, UKIP campaigned for stricter controls to UK border control. UKIP has diverted the blame for austerity measures and has directly targeted EU member states, more significantly UKIP has labelled people from Bulgaria and Romania, as being non-suitable groups for inclusion into Britain. UKIP has targeted both member states with criminality, as a threat to taking British jobs and for taking advantage of the welfare system as benefit tourists. The double effect from the situation of Bulgaria and Romania, is that either they are a threat for taking British jobs or a threat to taking welfare.

Findings and Analysis

Introduction

The following chapter presents the findings from the research analysis. To construct the analysis, the research systematically gathered evidence from a selection of historical newspapers during the period of 1936-45, and the same current newspaper editions during the period 2014-15. In addition to using broadsheet newspapers, multimedia examined a live TV performance from the 2015 pre-general election campaign and a selection of Radio 4 programmes were all analysed. As part of a multi-modal approach, a political campaign poster which was distributed nationally was included in the research and a pre-election campaign leaflet, which was distributed regionally by the UK Independence Party (UKIP). The aim of the research was to explore the evidence during the period of 1930s for similar themes or patterns in relation to contemporary ideological propaganda.

The rhetoric from UKIP during the period 2014-16, carried with it negative associations towards immigration, specifically at A2 member states Bulgaria and Romania. The research interest was to compare the rhetoric to the historical language used during the 1930s. The research was aimed at targeting UKIPs pre-election campaign tactics, for evidence relating to nationalism or `Britishness`. The time periods were selected for comparative evidence during times of austerity and economic instability. Importantly the time periods share similarities, a rise in far right rhetoric and to increased support for neo-fascist organisation throughout Europe.

The theme of Britishness

Throughout the national newspapers the Daily Herald and Manchester Guardian during 1936-1942, the findings showed that there was a heavy use of advertising campaigns in which to sell products. Notably during the 1930s, advertising was coming into its own, directly targeting people who had money to encourage spending. Throughout periods of austerity, there are still people who have money, for those with little income, household supplies continued to be a necessary purchase. People on limited incomes needed to buy 'staple' products for example, soap, tinned food etc. During a time when it was crucial for companies to maximise on market share, advertising these kinds of products through newspaper advertising, ensured 'brand recognition'. From 1936-39, the articles focus targeted predominantly the British Empire interests overseas, including investment finances. From the period of 1939 the rhetoric focussed attention to the theme of nation and Britishness, which coincided with the rise of Hitler in Germany.

Throughout the same period, the Daily Herald and the then named Manchester Guardian, used a plain black and white printing technique without the use of any additional colour. Both the national papers made bold statements with reference to war time Britain. The statements included advertisements that involved everything from British investment savings, porridge oats to British uniform and clothing shops. Examples of the construction of Britishness used to 'bolster' the idea of 'one nation', have been provided for the reader in Appendices 1 & 2. By deconstructing the advertisements, the Heinz Co demonstrated how patriotism and war are captured in the description of supplying servicemen, with a reminder that food comes from the land and sea and that 'labour of harvesting is man's primal task'. In the Scott's Porage

Oats example, the caption 'symbol of supremacy' was matched with the idea that energy and endurance follow breakfast and have illustrated the values which are symbolic of a vigorous Scot.

By comparison, heavy colour printing techniques are used in modern advertising within the broadsheets. The Guardian and the Daily Herald during the recent period of 2013-2014, notably incorporated journalist articles with nationalistic commemorative events for example, Remembrance Day, commemorative celebrations and or associations to the monarchy and consumer products, which related to a British theme. An example has been provided for the reader in appendix 3, sourced from the Guardian newspaper edition 12 November 2014. The representation of a red poppy which dominates the central column, reminds us of a commemorative celebration to the British soldier. To the right of the poppy a story highlights the pressing danger of the Ebola epidemic. Reading the articles Ebola disease, signals a negative pattern sequence against topics not considered as British. For example, immigration and disease are associated by dirty conditions. Combining a negative story through association with the commemorative representation of a poppy, Ebola, creates an interpretive possibility with negative associations.

Appendix 4, provides a further example for the reader to examine and was sourced from the Daily Herald 12 June 1939. The edition had a series of references to Britishness. Moving in an anti-clockwork direction, beginning with the article on the King and Queens picnic. Situated at the bottom left, there is a photograph of three men who are either in formal dress for example, a top hat and tailed jacket, which are associated with a British gentleman; standing next to a formally dressed man in a military uniform. Moving around the page, the advertisement reads 'white lead paint lasts'. The description includes a cartoon of two men, one of which is wearing a bowler

hat and carrying an umbrella, both items are associated with a British gentleman. Moving back to the top of the page there is an advert for Branston pickle and an iconic reference to Englishness.

The later editions included a series of accompanying supplements notably during the weekend editions. There was also a distinct use of bold colour print which was used in the modern format which made bold statements very prominent.

The journey plan

The analysis utilised different analytical techniques from those of previous contributors within critical discourse analysis. A multi-modal analysis used visual dimensions which included the headlines, page layout, a photograph and typography. The structures combined material and discursive practices which disclosed a different technique. The technique involved systematically mapping through specifically chosen combinations of both historical and contemporary newspaper print editions, to find evidence of contemporary ideological propaganda.

The purpose was to explore a new way in which to examine the discourse and rhetoric within a newspaper and to apply an interpretive stance. The research directly observed the headlines, the positioning of articles and importantly the accompanying advertising messages. The approach made it possible to find a new system which, when observed can provide a visual picture, within the page layout and an interpretive story association. The patterns and sequences exposed how some messages can be read from a different perspective and when intermingled within the pages. The pattern system can provide a visual interpretation which, when adverts and text cohere, it can produce an ideological effect.

The layout of the articles from both periods of the newspapers, can be likened to that of shopping in a supermarket. When we enter a store we are encouraged to turn right and move towards fresh produce, proceed forward to the bakery section to smell the freshly baked bread. We are directed to manoeuvre a certain way for example, a psychoanalytic perspective which Ott (2010) discussed, can go some way into explaining. Ott's work related to media communication and advertising, which pointed to how messages, when packaged, influence the way we process them. The emphasis, is how communication mediums, train our conscious to think in particular ways, not what to think, but how to think (Ott 2010). Shopping aisles are situated to encourage us to visit every position of the isle and maximise our responses and spending.

Although the idea may not be intentional from the part of the corporations, the pathways within the framework of the newspaper articles, provoked the same non-deliberate journey plan. The same patterns of organisation are also used in radio broadcasting and these are especially evident within the sequence of news bulletins.

By manoeuvring across page layouts we can consider the interplay between and across texts, advertising and photographs, the same method was highlighted in Richardson's (2008), when exploring political party campaign leaflets. By combining linguistic content and the structure of how and where material is placed, policies appear to be linked to a single cause. This is because they implicitly or explicitly all link together and can be presented through the use of metaphor. Again, Richardson exposed specific associations relating to English Exceptionalism by using the metaphor 'things' relating to migrant representation (2008 p.321-335). From this perspective, 'English Exceptionalism' or 'Britishness' against 'things' or 'others' or

'objects' (O'Brien 2003 p 34-37), resonated as an ideology repeatedly used in UKIPs campaign.

The significance of combining texts, grammar and visual designs, when analysing representation in the construction of ethnic minorities, media presentation provides a critical discourse analysis framework. For example, semiotic, non-verbal and multi-modal approaches have discussed how spoken language can accompany paralinguistic means of communication. They can be found through for example, gesture and posture Anthonissen (2003. p 299) illustrated how written words become a 'visual arrangement of marks on a page' and Sniderman & Tetlock (1986 p 129-150) analysed printed media to explain how content of 'logic, sequence, objectivity and detachment' are presented to readers through formats found in visual images, with the aim of stimulating imagination. The idea was the same for Postman (1993), although was selected in videos and film, the work evidenced that TV programs are set up to present a 'simultaneous presence and intimacy' (Postman, 1993. p 16). For McLuhan (1967 p 68) it is the 'medium itself' which 'bears implication'.

Mapping the media

By combining these techniques to map the main structure of stories and accompanying articles, a much broader picture emerged, which contributed to the analysis. By combining both semiotic and textual elements for example, news articles with cartoons, editorials and advertisements which are all situated on a single page, it provided a story combination. Using sequences in this type of format, it could be argued how, when a person is reading the contents of the newspaper, they may be directed to a certain way of 'thinking' or 'unthinking' to the ideological framing of the positioning of. For example, when scrutinising the newspapers, some of the editorials

throughout both the papers weekly editions, incorporated metaphorical stories which used gardening as the subject. The position of the article was placed in a central position of the page. Situated below was a cartoon illustrating a political event. The rest of the articles on the page were used to report on wartime events. It could be argued that without considering the actual placement of the story, the reading for some of us but not all, may implicitly cohere to create an ideological effect.

The structure found that, the format showed a continuous theme which appeared throughout the newspaper editions researched. Arguably, this provided evidence of systematic positioning that could influence how readers interpret 'connective storytelling'. To demonstrate the sequence in more detail an example has been provided for the reader to examine, from the headlines of the Daily Herald 12 June 1939 and the Guardian 12 November 2014.

Appendix 3 is provided for the reader to examine.

The front page of the Daily Herald June 12 1939

'Killed by bees after race for aid'... 'a swarm of bees clinging to him a man ran through a village crying for help'

The article is very small and placed at the bottom of the front page. Within the column there is a photograph that is much larger than the bees story itself. The black and white photograph shows a couple getting married. The story read:

'Refugees wed'

The article explains how the couple fled the Nazis during 1939. The newspaper has used the metaphor of 'swarm' when relating to a story of bees. The article has been placed directly next to a larger column article which has discussed refugees. What is

significant is the association of the word 'swarm' in one article and 'refugee' in the same column. 'Swarm' indicates the unknown, an invasion of things which are a threat to our lives. Refugee in this context could be interpreted as a threat, given the time period, many Jewish people were fleeing Germany as targets of persecution. Within the same page and to the right of the bees and refugee story, there is a two column display quarter page advertisement which promotes 'White Lead Paint'. Alongside the advertisement reads with the caption 'Next time I Shall Know Better'.

By using a series of three definite themes as illustrated, 'swarm' 'refugee' 'white' which are placed with a threatening message of 'next time I shall know better' implies a series of interpretations could be met for example, nationalist tone of white against a swarm of refugees.

The edition was compared to that of the Guardian newspaper November 12 2014 and can be found in appendix 3 for the reader to examine. The front page read:

'PM warned: no need to alter migrant rules. Cameron backs court decision, but presses on with border control plan' quote 'the ruling was a step in the right direction' adding 'there should be rules about restricting benefits'

Situated in the middle of the page is a large full coloured picture of a red poppy the caption discusses the representation of a British or Commonwealth soldier. To the right of the picture is a column display article discussing the 'Ebola' on the same page at the bottom there is an article that reads:

'Paedophile conviction highlights rise of the vigilantes'.

The stories on this particular edition were placed in positions which could be interpreted connectively for example, 'Cameron backs court decision' implied that he has sole control for migrants entering the UK. More specifically, that 'the ruling was a

step in the right direction' with relation to 'border control'. The story continued with 'rules about restricting benefits' which act to associate criminality of fraudulent benefit claims with immigrants. From this perspective court ruling, border control and welfare benefit, run simultaneously and are negative tones associated with immigration. Combined, these can act to deter or welcome people for example, a 'court ruling' implies a legislative response to keep people out. 'Border control' implies a controlled or geographical area, which keeps people out.

This particular edition (Appendix 3), additionally carried three further stories on the same page, one of which directly related to ideological nationalist tones. The representation of a red poppy dominated the central column which celebrated the British soldier. To the right of the commemorative celebration a story highlights the pressing danger of the Ebola epidemic. Reading the articles Ebola disease, court ruling at immigration, border control and welfare benefits creates a negative pattern sequence and demonstrates what is latent can be activated. The positioning format carried the possible potential for latent association. For example, immigration and disease in association by dirty conditions. The bottom column of the page referred to a paedophile conviction which highlighted 'rise of vigilantes'. Combining all these negative stories through association for example, the commemorative representation of a poppy, Ebola, welfare benefits, immigration, border control, paedophile and vigilantes are all negative associations, which are unconscious and latent, waiting there to be activated.

Throughout the analysis, some page associations from both periods were either stronger or weaker to interpret. Importantly, I did not read too much into this, the associations are not merely coincidental, reiterating that discourse and ideology as

latent and for psychoanalysts, may draw on the 'unconscious' as previously highlighted in the work of Ott (2010).

Throughout the journalistic articles written in the Guardian and Daily Herald editions, it was much more noticeable in the sense that, the modern format has replaced a more subdued and arguably well written historical language during 1939-1942. Previous historical content, showed that the column displays were utilised, with much more journalistic articles on one page. To define the articles into column displays, the lines used a lighter print technique. Additionally, the reporting journalists during the historical period, seem to have written much more subtly, approaching the subject matter with informative and interesting writing. That said the association between the theme of refugee and disease was still obvious and the findings notably traced a direct connection, which has been used throughout the newspapers and regardless of the time period. Importantly though, the word 'Immigration' within contemporary editions, has replaced what was previously referred to as 'refugee'.

By adopting a form of observation to study the layout design of the pages, a further significant area of interest became visible for example, in the Daily Herald historical editions there was one particular section of interest, which was featured in a weekly gardening feature. The section addressed the political issues for the week, the editorial cleverly incorporated how and when the most suitable times of the month, season vegetables and flowers should be sewn or harvested. The really interesting aspect was the use of written metaphorical discourse relating to situations, both economically and politically. Political figures have historically used metaphors within propaganda speeches, to address nations for example, Nazi party member Goering addressed the German nation:

‘The last three harvest years, in particular the first two of them, were by no means favourable. Quite unexpectedly, three terribly hard and severe winters broke upon us and destroyed much of the labour that had previously been put into the ground’ (Goering 1942)

The gardening feature in the Daily Herald was original, satirical and addressed many hidden agendas. Subsequently, it created a whole new area of interest to the development of the thesis with critical discourse analysis and the use of metaphors, in political propaganda. Additionally, the newspaper, carried with it a series of political cartoons throughout the editions during 1938-1943. These were very interesting and covered a broad spectrum of political tension in a satirical way (Appendix 5) Media language, Maas (1989) advocated its use to analyse how, within society, readers are led to collude in ideological discourses. With this in mind, it is the responsibility for the layout of news page which should rest with the editor in charge. From this perspective, it is possible that the editor is aware of how the articles, advertisements and editorials form patterns, which could lead the reader to interpret messages of contagion with refugee or and immigration and situate them altogether. Additionally, there are editorial decisions about the placement of such material in newspapers, that the editor may not be fully aware of and why they elect to place and arrange material in a particular way.

From an ideological point, the arrangement does not have to be a static or a worked out thought process, but rather as something that is transient, elusive, or partly formed. The fundamental point is, that an association can be made through metaphors, through textual and the visual material and as an ideological latency within discourse. Which, importantly may or not be tapped into. Metaphor in discourse works through such associations.

The theme of contagion

From observation, the visualisation content in the historical and contemporary newspapers editions, the findings made the suggestion, that there can be a series of organised messages which can be found situated between the journalistic articles, within the main headlines and the accompanying advertising. Combined, the messages could suggest a means for interpretation. For the critical discourse analyst, reading can contribute in interpreting many of the ideological undertones which are intermingled, either side or underneath the headlines. For example, by using an interpretative stance, the method exposed how the placement of articles which are directly related to immigration, refugee and or reference to Britishness, found an obvious association to contagion. The analysis demonstrated that, by drawing attention to what is latent can be 'activated'.

Many of the historical articles taken from the daily editions, were connected and read alongside the refugee situations during wartime periods. In addition, they also made a reference to either a vaccination or a specific immunisation program, either directed at a global requirement program or a national program. The findings suggested, that a direct connection was made at portioning blame for contagion to refugees or 'others', more specifically, as new arrivals and entering a country.

From this perspective and with relation to the research questions, the concern with banal nationalism found within rhetorical discourse, was presented through routine signals and media representation and the findings suggest, that these are presented within the daily scope of habits of language and symbols. Within the format of contagion and immigration, constant 'flagging's', Billig (1978 p38), have become so

commonplace that people are continually reminded in subtle ways of our identity with the references to 'Britishness', 'Englishness', and ideology of bringing a 'nation together'.

Infectious diseases carried directly from livestock cattle, were also prominent articles which were featured either, next to or within the same page, as were reports regarding refugees, during the same period. The same newspaper broadsheets during 2014, continued the theme and played heavily into the Ebola crisis, with connection to diseases which could be carried into Britain. The moral panic (Cohen 1972), surrounded the articles, which even urged people to be vigilant to the signs of anyone thought to be carrying the infection. Significantly, anyone who looked suspicious at having a possible infection, was urged to be named for example, 'like students in university and schools who travelled from West Africa and showed signs of fever' (O'Carroll 2014).

'Dirt' as a matter out of place was defined by Lord Chesterfield and noted through the work of Douglas (2003). It referred to the idea of dirt in western English speaking countries. It relates to two conditions, the idea that dirt will smug, blur or contradict otherwise, accepted conditions and classifications (p. 139). From this perspective, the relation to dirt hold two distinct differences. One, is the contemporary European difference, that dirt avoidance is as a matter of hygiene and was a great nineteenth century discovery in pathogenicity, which was set against the primitive cultures of dirt with regard to religion (p 36). Douglas has described the suggestive approach of 'matter out of place' as a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order; 'dirt then, is never a unique, isolated event; Where there is dirt there is a system' (p36). The idea of classification and ordering with relation to contagion, was highlighted as a

result of the Ebola scare during 2014. Political party UKIP, associated comments to disease and immigration, from English speaking countries to target primitive cultures.

‘Immigrants with HIV should not be admitted to the UK. More than 60% of the 7,000 patients diagnosed annually were not British. It seems rather clear to me they're coming here with the suspicion they may have it, knowing that we as a country will treat them. Of course we want to help people all over the world, but what's the limit to this?’ (BBC 1 April 2 2015).

The article specifically points to the negative address of immigrants and the softened tone of ‘we want to help....’ This is significant in the sense that it is the ‘we’ and ‘want’ to help, the import of a ‘caring nation’.

‘Others’ as Metaphors of Tides and Crime

The technique of using contagion, as a metaphor and with associated discourse, has been a reoccurring theme, directed towards refugee and or immigration. The significant difference from the historical newsprint, was the change of language. Arguably, this has developed with the prolific use of distasteful discourse in today’s reporting. Using misrepresented media descriptions, are more likely to be found throughout the tabloid press, but the analysis can highlight that derogatory comments are also used across medium. For example, the metaphorical reference to the ‘jungle’ was used heavily, when reporting on the Calais refugee camp, by the Guardian and the BBC. The mythical description arguably has legitimised an image of a land overgrown, with dense forest and tangled vegetation.

Part of UKIPs ideological propaganda during the period 2014-15 pre-general election campaign, was to gain support from new voters. Blaming immigration to Britain from specific European states, which targeted their intentions, as a threat to British jobs and for national traditions. This created a rhetorical discourse, which directly associated criminality, with people from Bulgaria and Romania and unsuitable to live in Britain. When gathering evidence for the research on this claim, the findings suggested that there was no reference or evidence during the periods 1930s and 1940s, to substantiate a link to Romania and Bulgaria with criminality. Concluding that the association was more likely to be a contemporary constructed myth. On regular reporting, metaphorical references have been made in association to immigration and associated to refugees for example,

‘the refugee problem’ (Daily Herald, Jan 5 1939)

The article discussed the Jews persecution. The concern was with the relation to people’s beliefs or births and fleeing from governments. The article also highlighted the ‘problems’ created as a consequence of the movement of people. The use of the word ‘problem’ in the context, also associates the refugee as the problem. The statement is softened by the additional caption, ‘particularly when the fault does not rest with the people concerned’.

The problematic reasons associated with refugees during 1939 were, the lack of housing and finding ‘them’ new homes. A similar fear in today’s current climate can be found within UKIPs rhetoric, which has targeted A2 European member states. Without actual evidence, both of the countries have been regarded and treated as ‘others’, whilst trying to move into new prosperous towns and cities throughout Britain. The association with A2 countries to criminal activities, can form the basis for proposed legislation for example, right wing policies have called to strengthen border control and

to deter access into the UK. Associating criminality with people from A2 states, was a strategy used by the conservative party during 2013, to promote the British “Together” campaign. During the period Mr Cameron targeted the Roma Gypsies population, he said that ‘Britain would deport European Union migrants, if they were found to be ‘begging’ or ‘sleeping outside’. He added that it would mean ‘barring them from re-entry for 12 months’ (Wintour 2013).

‘The tidal flood of Bulgarian and Romanian immigrants’ (The Guardian 2014)

‘Romanians and Bulgarians would enter Britain on an unprecedented crime wave” bringing with them a tidal flood of new immigrants. ‘The new Fagin’s’ running child pickpocket gangs and sparking a ‘crime explosion’ (The Guardian 2014)

The above extracts quoted in the Guardian newspaper (Nov 12 2014), illustrate the ideological and rhetorical power of Farage’s use of metaphor. Within the claims, he makes firstly, the use of ‘tidal wave’, ‘crime wave’ and ‘crime explosion’, each draw upon the association of an uncontrollable force that is threatening. In the case of the metaphorical use of ‘tidal wave’, there is a sense of a force that is unstoppable and that overcomes all in its path, and likewise is the similar use of ‘crime wave’. This is further strengthened by the association of ‘sparking’ an ‘explosion’ of crime, by implying a sudden outburst that is again unstoppable when unleashed. Note also the Dickensian reference to ‘the new Fagin’s running child pickpocket gangs’; an association with a classic literary reference that, although fictional, is mythical in the sense of conjuring up the evils and morally reprehensible, crime-laden nature, associated with the squalid underbelly of Victorian society. ‘Running child pickpocket gangs’ conjure up an image of groups of people stalking their prey before targeting victims and stealing on an industrial scale from decent people. The ideological import of these metaphorical references, serve to associate Romanian and Bulgarian

immigrants with criminality, without any recourse to actual evidence and in so doing, characterise them as threatening, dangerous and unworthy of entering the UK.

‘Tragedy of the Exodus, Masses in search of sanctuary’ (The Times 1939 p. 5)

‘The refugee Problem’ When a million people are driven from their own countries and have to make their living in others, it is natural for their new neighbours to suspect that their own livelihoods may be threatened’. (The Daily Herald 1939 p.1)

‘Any normal and fair-minded person would have a perfect right to be concerned if a group of Romanian people suddenly moved in next door.’ (BBC News 18 May 2014)

The above extracts are quoted from the Daily Herald during 1939 and from an interview with UKIPs leader during 2014. What is interesting, are the comparisons and similarities used within the discourse and in relation to people moving from another country for example, ‘tragedy’ and ‘masses’, creates the imagery again, of unstoppable amounts of people, from unacceptable places, who are on the move. Farage has used the description of, ‘natural for new neighbours to suspect livelihoods to be threatened’. ‘Natural’, can form a judgement of an acceptable one, ‘natural for new neighbours to suspect their livelihoods to be threatened’ from this respect, suggests that, it is acceptable for us to believe, we should be threatened. ‘Suspect’ and ‘threatened’ complete the extracts and are distinctive negative words which, relate to Romania and Bulgaria as unacceptable neighbours, as criminals. The same theme was presented from the Farage quotation for example, ‘any normal’, could be interpreted as a ‘natural’ way, within the context which it has been addressed. It could suggest that to think otherwise, may not be acceptable. The reference to refugee in the Daily Herald, as a ‘new neighbour’ compared to Farage’s comment, directed to

'groups of' Romanians' living next door. Refugee and Romanians are classified as a threat, that large numbers of people, would occupy a spatial area.

Considering the research concerns, integration or 'unassailable' (Hargreaves 1997) holds a key theme within the discourse of UKIP. Cultural incompatibility, when used in political discourse, has significant subtle tones for example, Hargreaves (1987) identified the term 'unassailable', which was used historically to target and persecute groups, as 'others'. With this in mind, cultural incompatibility and unassailability are significant contemporary topics and can highlight ideological subtleties found in political discourse and through media representation.

By comparing the 1930s, the construction of ideology was aimed at the Jews and the Roma (Gypsies). The Nazis often described the German people as, being superhuman or *Übermenschen*. When translated this means a master race, the 'other' becomes dehumanised through this kind of oppositional discourse. Key components of ideology particularly when used in metaphor, are historical methods and can appeal to simplify an explanation. When repeated often enough, metaphors become acceptable for example, Farage discussed the Calais migrant crisis during 2015,

'A couple of times I've been stuck on the motorway and surrounded by "swarms" of potential migrants to Britain and once, even, they tried the back door of the car to see whether they could get in'. 29 July 2015 Nigel Farage (Elgot & Taylor 2015).

The above comments were quoted in the Guardian newspaper (29 July 2015). Farage referred to the metaphor of 'swarms' which indicate an invasion of 'things' or 'species'. They can be visualised as a threat, particularly towards the UK's everyday structures. By using a metaphor, it can provoke uncertainty about something, or about a situation

which is unstoppable. Farage has also pointed to associate immigration with criminal activity, making references to 'swarms', associating people, attempting to get into his car. The quote encourages the fear of 'others', not only a different and threatening species through the metaphor, but as a threat from 'criminal gangs' attempting to steal from us.

The refugee problem during the 1930s and the Calais migrant crisis from 2014, provoked the same fear among the population, by categorising people as 'others' regardless of the situation, plight or legitimacy. Fear legitimises dehumanising people, even when this is related to legally entitled EU member states, hopeful of a prosperous country.

The theme of metaphor in political language

By examining the same editions of newspaper content from the historical articles, 'alien' and 'Jew' were the descriptive terms used to relate to immigrant during that period. The contemporary editions have replaced alien and Jew with 'immigrant', 'immigration' and 'asylum seekers' and were examined as a political use of metaphor in everyday text and discourse. The findings provided a good detail of significant metaphors that were used during the period on 1938-1942, with relation to 'others' as 'alien' immigrant Jews. Refugee was a term used heavily to relate directly with Jew.

Within political rhetoric, the use of metaphors is currently being given high profile coverage, throughout mainstream political propaganda. Metaphor are significant in everyday text and talk. Referring to refugee, immigrant and border control was also the case during 1939. Previous research into metaphor was a theme discussed with interest in earlier chapters. The findings suggest that the regular use of metaphor for interpretation among many of the newspaper articles, were arguably referred to more

often within the historical editions. Throughout both the periods the material analysed suggests that many of the journalistic articles writing about issues on immigration, refugees and or Britishness, contained within them metaphorical references. The layout of the page showed, that the accompanying articles carried stories with relation to contagion. By adopting the page layout technique, a broader picture emerged to exemplify the messages. Combining news articles with cartoons, editorials and advertisements on a single page layout, it could be argued how the reader of the newspaper may be directed to a certain way of thinking. Many of the pages that ran articles on the seasonal gardening theme, combined some small column display stories which were related to a series of diseases among the population and or animal infections. For example, small pox or foot and mouth disease. Additionally, some of the articles discussed the various immunisation programmes, which were to be introduced throughout the country.

The interesting part from mapping a newspaper page, was that the approach provided another way to read and interpret messages. From a British standpoint, throughout the 1930s, the main theme surrounded the promotion of the British Empire notably, the country's image was branded as being a powerful world leader. To accompany the imperialist articles, a series of poster advertisements completed the theme of image and strength, which included anything from porridge oats to washing powder (appendices 1 & 2). A weekly edition of political cartoons was additionally placed within the themes which, provided a satirical message associated to the journalistic articles. Each cartoon demonstrated in the language which was used, that it was targeted at a specific political readership for example, people voting for centre left and left politics (appendix 5)

By observing the layout of the newspaper pages, the findings can explain how these kinds of discursive and metaphorical constructions provide, 'ideological hooks'. The analysis demonstrated that, with the use of a mixture of themes such as immigration, connected to, a commemorative celebration for example, the Queen's Birthday celebrations. Pages are situated alongside stories associated with criminality and directed at a particular group furthermore, the same articles are also placed together with stories creating a moral panic. For example, infectious diseases being brought into the country and differentiating between sovereignty and then the others. When mosaic combinations of misrepresented story gathering are placed together, it could entice the reader to associate the patterns of words and pictures, with a false perspective. The sequence association was not privy to right wing rhetoric, the findings showed that this was evident throughout the newspapers that are traditionally targeted with the political left and centre-left.

Again throughout the analysis, the positions of articles within the page layout, demonstrated a definite pattern of latent suggestions. Essentially, the findings can demonstrate that the placing of how and where articles are situated, is the same both throughout the historical editions and in today's reporting. Therefore, arguably it holds the same context, regardless of political viewpoint. The rhetoric that UKIP used in their national pre-election campaign involved distribution of leaflets and posters, which could be comparative to ideological propaganda used, during the 1930s. The strategy of repeated nationalistic discourse has been shared with many European states, media has frequently reported on France's political right wing party, Front National (FN). The slogans share a similar theme in their political messages with UKIP and target immigration. Worryingly and significantly the rhetoric continues to increase popularity for support of far right organisations. The message of Contagion was used

to justify classification of Jews, people regarded as inferior to Germans, during Hitler`s propaganda machine and rise to power.

‘Disease’ in TV and Radio Broadcasts

In addition to the broadsheet newspapers, a live TV performance from the 2015 pre-general election campaign and a selection of Radio 4 programmes were analysed. UKIPs national political campaign poster and leaflet were examined as part of the analysis.

During the lead up to the 2015 general election, UKIP received unprecedented levels of media coverage. These included regular interviews and reporting through the BBC television news bulletins. Some reports focussed on UKIPs party policies, others included live chat interviews on the radio, both nationally and locally and a series of invitations were offered to Farage to appear on the BBCs ‘Question Time’ weekly programme. The significance of the ‘question time’ invitations was, that regardless of UKIPs previous contentious and arguably negative remarks against immigrants, the leader remained included into the program over several episodes. Arguably a platform was provided by the BBC, whereby UKIPs leader entertained viewing audiences who might otherwise have avoided the programme.

During 2007, the makers of the Question Time political programme were asked to include the British National Party (BNP), as part of a political debate with a live audience. The BBC's position at that time quoted that the BNP was an anti-democratic party, that should not be given a platform in a way that would treat them as mainstream politicians (Mulholland 2009). The level of media exposure given to UKIP, even when substantiating false information with regards to immigration, has secured a series of news coverage, on primetime television particularly during 2014-15. The heavily

publicised television performance on the BBCs Question Time programme, analysed seven of the mainstream political party leaders, who took part in the live debate which ran for over two hours (Election 2015). One of the notable aspects from the speech made by the UKIP leader, Nigel Farage was, his use of metaphor when asked questions from the audience. Farage made references with relation to contagion and immigration during the performance. Notably he made strong allegations in reference to 'people coming to Britain' Farage continued to blame anyone who he deemed as being unfit to live in the UK and directly quoted

'those specifically to use the health care system when they have diseases such as AIDS' 'we shouldn't spend on health tourism' (Election 2015) 'what we need to do is put the NHS there for British people who have paid into the system' (Election 2015). The word 'Tourism' has been juxtaposed with the statement and is more often described within the context of leisure and travel however, in this case it is identified with health and treatment.

Despite the controversy, the BBC reported that 'despite widespread condemnation from opponents, reports quoted UKIP insiders saying, the comments which were dubbed as being a 'shock and awful' were part of a carefully planned move, to appeal to the party's base. One senior aide was quoted as saying his remarks would be welcomed by 'millions and millions of working-class voters' (Election 2015).

During the election campaign, the BBC continued to raise the bar on publicity for UKIPs leader and additionally ran a programme titled the "Nigel Farage Story", one extract read:

His 'man in the pub' image and disdain for political correctness left him free to attack rivals for being mechanical and overly on-message. This inspired affection and respect

among those who agreed with him on core messages about cutting immigration and leaving the European Union (Election 2015). The statement created the image, that this is a plain speaking person, telling it how it is. The analysis of Farage's image from the BBC, implies how he comes across and connects to the public, with his discourse and 'lack of political correctness', as a plain speaking Politician.

In addition to the TV performance, the research also examined several radio broadcasts over the period of 2012-15. The findings showed that the BBC Radio 4s 'Today' programme during 2013, which is regarded as a prestigious station and synonymous with academics and educated listeners, targeted the Roma community in Page Hall an area of Sheffield. This small Roma group was scrutinised over a period of four months, to determine how it was 'integrating' with the local community. Previously the then Sheffield Labour MP David Blunketts had issued a warning:

'we have to change the behaviour and culture of the Roma People' additionally, Blunkett accused the government of 'burying their head in the sand' associating the comment to the scale of Roma settlement in the UK (Bowers 2013). Mr Blunkett continued to assert that the 'Roma community had to make more of an effort to fit in with British culture we have got to change the behaviour and the culture of the incoming community, the Roma community, because there's going to be an explosion otherwise. We all know that' (Bowers 2013). In a response to Blunketts comments UKIPs leader Nigel Farage said that 'Mr Blunkett should be admired for the courage he has shown by speaking so plainly on this issue' (Humphreys 2014). This coincided with UKIPs attack and warning of the 'influx' of Bulgarian and Romanian people following entry into the European Union (Webb 2014).

It is important to note that the issue of 'culture' being raised, surrounds differences of culture and specifically the expected norms of behaviour. Although this is not overt

racism, it is directed at 'cultural differences'. From this perspective and with relation to the research question concern, Palingenetic ultra-nationalism (Griffin 1993) could be compared to ethnocentrism which arise from intrinsic ambiguities and the concept of 'nation' for example, it helps to define the ways which racism become legitimised and rationalised as a form of xenophobia.

UKIP Ideology, posters and campaign leaflets

The analysis compared one of UKIP's pre-election campaign posters, part of a series which were distributed throughout the UK. 'Controlling Britain's Borders', has formed the rhetorical theme which was presented as the main theme and as a leading concern. The poster campaign followed an 'establish ownership' of a policy (Widfeldt 2013) and played into the scare tactic. For example, to deter anyone considered as other to be welcomed into Britain. By 'owning' the issue of immigration, the poster theme added to the public's lack of trust with the Conservative Party. The poster analysed presented the 'white cliffs of Dover' as the background drop, set between the cliffs are a series of three individual escalators. The caption at the top of the poster read, 'Immigration is three times higher than the Tories promised'. At the bottom of the poster the caption promotes UKIP as 'the only party you can trust to reduce immigration' (Appendix 6).

The white cliffs of Dover are an iconic symbol in terms of their nostalgic association to soldiers and the battle of Britain during WW2. The use of three separate escalators moving up the cliffs conjures up the idea that the absence of border control, means that people coming from other countries, quite simply by boarding onto the escalator into Britain. The caption 'immigration is three times higher' sends out a message that

is aggressive even without actual evidence to support the claim, it hints at the use of escalators that access into the UK is a simple procedure.

In addition to UKIP's poster, a campaign leaflet which was distributed throughout the houses in Rotherham, South Yorkshire was analysed (Appendix 7). The leaflet proposed six points in which 'the UKIP team' would make changes and included a section which reads,

- 'UKIP will fight for controlled migration'. This will ease pressure on Rotherham's housing, medical and education services (UKIP 2015). The point which followed this statement from the Rotherham UKIP team read:
- 'Steve is committed to joining the other UKIP, Rotherham councillors in fighting council waste and promoting openness and transparency' (Collins and Webster 2015).

The leaflet carried a six-point proposal and was notable in the sense that the rhetoric could be interpreted by a range of voters, depending on how the information is collected. UKIP will 'fight for controlled immigration' suggests that 'fighting' against people, who are to be managed in a way which benefits British people. That the cause of pressure on welfare is a consequence of a lack of controlled migration.

Previous analysis for campaign leaflets were discussed through earlier chapters and included Richardson (2008). Political posters and leaflets as discourse 'are situated in, shaped by and constructive of circumstances that are more than and different to language' (Anthonissen 2003, 297). When discussing metaphor existing through the newspaper content, it was also interesting to combine the six-point leaflet, notably when referring to Rotherham councillors in fighting 'council waste'. In this context, could be interpreted as a link between immigration control and waste.

Conclusion

The aim of the analysis was to explore the evidence during the period of 1930s, for similar themes or patterns in relation to contemporary ideological propaganda. Recent rhetoric from UKIP during the period 2015, carried with it negative associations towards immigration, which was arguably comparative to the historical language used during the 1930s, throughout Europe. The analysis was aimed at targeting UKIPs pre-election campaign tactics for evidence relating to nationalism or Britishness. The time periods and in relation to the choice of broadsheet newspapers, were selected primarily as political centre-left and left readership and the timeframes related to periods of austerity and economic instability. Both periods have and are witnessing a rise in popularity for far right support and neo-fascist political representation throughout Europe.

The analysis used a combination of multi-modal methods to interpret media print by observing the headlines, the positioning of articles and importantly the accompanying advertising messages. Using the approach made it possible to find a system which provided an interpretive visual picture of the whole page layout and story association. The findings suggest that patterns and sequences exposed a latent ideological import or 'journey plan' when observed. By examining the editions of newspaper content from the historical articles, 'alien' and 'Jew' were the descriptive terms used to relate to immigrant during that period. The contemporary editions have replaced alien and Jew with 'immigrant', 'immigration' and 'asylum seekers' and were examined as a political use of metaphor in everyday text and discourse. The analysis could suggest that, attempts are made in the historical newspapers and in the same contemporary

editions, at apportioning blame for contagion to refugees, immigrants or others as new arrivals and entering the country.

The findings suggest that infectious diseases carried directly from livestock cattle were also prominent articles, which were featured either next to or within the same page. In addition to the newspaper research, a live TV performance from the 2015 pre-general election campaign analysed the rhetorical ideologies surrounding UKIP. During the performance UKIP made associations with relation to contagion, immigration and allegations at people coming to Britain to seek welfare from the NHS. The same rhetoric was used during radio interviews with UKIP and directed at two specific EU member states Bulgaria and Romania.

The analysis could suggest that there are comparative nationalistic discourses in relation to immigration within newspaper page layouts. The use of metaphor with relation to immigration and in association with contagion are prominent within newspaper page layouts and were evidenced in historical editions, to justify classification of people regarded as being inferior and as 'others'.

Discussion & Conclusion

The outset reported on in this dissertation, concerned the rhetorical discourse which the UK independence party (UKIP) has used. More specifically, it was the discourse surrounding immigrant groups which the party targeted during the period 2014-16. The time frame of the research coincided with the build up to 2015 European election vote campaign. UKIP questioned the motives of A2 member states, Bulgaria and Romania in moving to the UK. The research interest from this perspective, was understanding and comparing current media and political representation of immigration, immigrants, and refugees, to the historical categorisation during the 1930s and in relation to those groups persecuted as the 'other' in ethnic categorisations. Three distinct topics surrounded the increased support for UKIP: media attention with relation to immigration concerns; the inability of immigrants to integrate into what is considered Britishness; the association of immigration with disease and criminality.

UKIP developed a fusion strategy, by merging Britain's EU membership which traditionally had been an issue of low salience (Dennison and Goodwin 2015 p 172), with an opportunity as a Euro-sceptic party, UKIP gained support as a populist radical right party using cultural and economic threats to the UK from EU migrants. Within the claims UKIP associated A2 member states with criminality, and called for increased measures to control Britain's borders (Dennison and Goodwin p 172). Immigration became the major topic for discussion among the mainstream political leaders, throughout the build up to the 2015 general election, immigration became a leading issue for public concern.

As a national strategy, UKIPs anti-immigration political discourse shared a commonality throughout many European far right organisations. Pointing to France

and Italy, Ford (2010) have argued on the key features which attract extreme right support, basing the support on family traditions of ethnic nationalism or sympathies for historic fascism; coalescing to join extreme right movements. Ford, compared electorates for any similarities or shared key features, between UKIP and the British Nationalist Party (BNP). One area identified for both parties' support, was not only with the disconnected from mainstream political parties. Even after including social controls, important motives for UKIPs support, was mainly driven through xenophobia and from people who are 'anxious' about immigration. Viewing UKIP as a 'polite alternative' to the British National Party, UKIP has been successful in attracting support from people who are alarmed with immigration concerns and hostile to immigrants. However, at the same time, 'these people are not openly hostile to British ethnic minorities' (Ford, Goodwin and Cutts 2012 p 218).

UKIPs Ideological discourse, has promoted Britain as a nation with the strength of togetherness in latent contexts against Romania and Bulgaria as culturally different. The political ideological theme was evident during the period of 1930s as a generic superiority against migrant groups. During times when austerity measures have been implemented, it is the topic of immigration which becomes one of the main drivers to target blame at for example, Hargreaves (1995) referred to a similar set of events in France during the 1930s, when the country experienced economic downturn. A xenophobic reaction meant that immigrants which were once accepted, became the target of persecution and in some cases lead to the deportation of people.

By examining historical accounts, these can go to some way in explaining provocations which vehemently cause reaction towards 'othering processes. Hargreaves detailed the journey of immigration and French nationality laws. For example, political commentators label immigration and use it as a tool to act for

acceptable resource, particularly when an economy expands. The principle 'pull' factors for recruiting foreign labour into France during the 1930s, was due to the amount of lives which were lost following the Second World War. For many people migrating to France, Hargreaves accounts has explored how people can feel 'pushed' to leave their home countries. However, the motivation to leave in terms of economic interests, outweigh the emotional factors for example, a move to another country could provide opportunities which could improve living standards (p7). The relevance of the European situation is fundamental in today's political turmoil for example, UKIPs campaign was used to build on fear and consequences of immigration.

The notion of foreign origin becomes a prominent issue, particularly when there is a shortage in the labour pool. Hargreaves (1995) argued that by labelling immigration as a problem, it acts to serve as a useful term within political rhetoric. For example, in France immigration paved the way for the left and right parties to implement the debate of national identity. Again, this is a relevant theme throughout the current European situation, we are witnessing a period when immigration has remerged, to be considered as a 'serious' threat in France. for example, National identity has become fundamental to Front National (FN) campaign, presenting recent slogans of 'The time of the nation state is back' (Chrisafis 2016). British national identity has been a theme for UKIP as part of their Eurosceptic platform. Identity, nationalism and the notion of 'bringing a nation together' for Ford and Goodwin (2014), were identified as changes to British values and social attitudes, are heavily determined by our social conditions, arguing that people born before 1960s and 70s, would have had limited contact with migrant groups furthermore, the political situation at that time, meant that contentious debates of national identity were polarised by the National Front and Enoch Powell. Not only did the social world during the period adhere to authoritarian rules for

example, speech and expression, people also 'perceived a new Britain as a country that stood apart from Europe', to 'remember a nation that once sat at the heart of an Empire' (Ford and Goodwin 2014 p 280). Comparatively, the same rhetoric applied to the far right support which Klandermans & Mayer (2006 p 271) addressed. Arguing that in Europe the support corresponds with a threat to culture, that 'It is not so much that they are against foreigners, but they feel the urge to defend their stock; they see foreigners as a threat to the integrity of their people and culture'.

Constant reminders of a nations identity, through subtle signals, habits of language and routine signs become commonplace. Billig (1995 p 41) argued that the reminders can be identified as banal nationalism, which work within the daily scope of rhetorical discourse, rather than the extreme form of nationalism. Negative reminders of cultural difference and of negative 'things', act in the positive interest of our nation. Some of the reminders were evidenced in the previous chapters and included examples. The flagging's, of Britishness, Englishness and identity were referenced with armistice day commemorations and bringing a nation together. The concept of patriotism and nationalism, could go some way to explain how, with the situating and placing of articles, 'flagging' patterns are latent with suggestions of negative associations. These are set against topics related to immigration and disease. The association can be made with dirty conditions or as something which is not considered contemporary European, 'that dirt avoidance is a matter of hygiene (Douglas 2003 p 139).

Expanding on immigration with connection to vaccination, specific immunisation. Contagion and disease story associations connect with a nations strength. Britishness and generic superiority could go some way to explaining the increased anxieties for some people, and the fear of new arrivals entering the UK. What is latent can be 'activated' particularly when immigration has received aggressive media attention, at

times 'polarized positions' (Berry 2014). If people who perceive immigration from a negative perspective, and indeed the electorate for UKIP is a central aspect of its appeal (Ford and Goodwin 2015), then the latent messages which are placed with connective stories, could bring to the fore negative associations and lead the reader to interpret negative messages, against immigration to the UK.

UKIPs pre-election campaign targeted Bulgaria and Romania, identifying both countries as non-suitable groups, for inclusion into Britain. UKIP targeted both groups as culturally different therefore, unable to integrate into Britain. For example, Nigel Farage made comments about 'feeling anxious' when he did not hear the 'English language when on public transport (Phipps 2014). From this perspective, the political communication which relates to immigrant or refugee can act to dehumanise people through media representation. TV and newspapers when presented, act as powerful medium and for many people, the information which is received regarding ethnic minority groups is formulated. It means that, people often have stereotypical 'knowledge' about ethnic minorities even when they hardly ever have direct experiences with, or know people who have (van Dijk 1987).

UKIP ideologies incorporate palingentic ultranationalist aspects through their political image, especially as representatives against an 'old system' battling with the help from grass roots support. Throughout UKIPs campaign, media representation has presented the party leadership as, someone who connects with the public based on 'telling it how it is' rhetoric. In this context, UKIPs leadership appeals to people who are anti-immigration, to those who critique the established politicians, and for groups who support a return to a golden age or 'national greatness'. Palingentic ultranationalism (Griffin 1991 p ix) could be compared with the ethnocentrism which arise from intrinsic ambiguities. Expanding on intrinsic ambiguities is the uncertainty which

has been presented in the concept 'nation'. For example, it helps to explain something which does not readily appear on the document. From this respect, nation used through racism can express itself as a rationalised form of xenophobia (Griffin 2003 pp 97-122). Palingenetic ultra-nationalism, becomes central to that appeal, the myth which involves a leader who promises a brighter future, a leader who represents what people believe in. By doing so this attracts large numbers of support from voters who have lost faith in traditional politics. This has been the case for UKIPs leader Farage, 'campaigning heavily on immigration and a populist critique of established politicians' (Ford and Goodwin 2015 p 178).

The appeal is strengthened when leaders are presented through the media, as someone 'who connects with the public' and 'telling it how it is'. With this in mind, for people coming to the UK from Bulgaria and Romania, their association to criminal activities and cultural difference have already been established. For example, with association to headlines which read of 'unprecedented' numbers arriving to the UK, 'welfare tourism' and 'taking British jobs'. The extracts have been exemplified in the previous chapter, extracted from the Guardian newspaper November 12 2014. The illustrations expose the ideological and rhetorical power of Farage's use of metaphor, within the claims he makes. With this in mind therefore, UKIPs ideology sets out an agenda for double speak, in that for groups, they are either only coming to the UK to take our jobs, or to take advantage of our benefits system. Either way the dichotomy exists to set groups up as undesirables.

These subtle latent ideological tones of cultural incompatibility are all associated with threats to welfare criminality, British jobs and national traditions. They create a fear that may be generated through rhetoric which points to dilution or loss of British culture. Contentious issues were identified in the majority of newspaper editions and would

appear to be part of a long-standing racist tradition for example, 'disease' and 'attack' were noticeable sequences with the placement of journalist articles reporting on contagion, which were situated next to articles on commemorative celebrations. Contagion and selection tests run alongside historical ideological propaganda for nations and traditional nationalism and between the 1930s and 1940s, the ideals of a 'community of the people' for Nazi Germany included, the value of hard work, law and order and, clean living. In this context, 'clean living' has been a prominent metaphor with relation to immigration, refugee and disease, both historically and within the rhetoric of UKIP. Contagion and disease metaphors have been evidenced in the previous chapter which made reference to Farage, who notably made strong allegations to immigration and welfare benefit, when he associated people with AIDS as health tourists. From this perspective the relation of dirt which Douglas (2003) made reference to 'where there is dirt there is a system' (p36) does link with contagion and immigration, directed at primitive cultures.

Metaphor used in media representation arguably makes contentious issues easier to legitimise. Using bite size information, makes it possible to tap into the familiar. A good example was evidenced in the previous chapter and related to the international media reporting on the Calais refugee camp. The report discussed the legitimatisation of the metaphor 'jungle' which was used to redefine the camp and refugee occupants. For example, one report taken from the BBC 24 October 2016 read, Calais Migrants: Hundreds moved from 'Jungle'. Metaphor simplifies and sensationalises stories, which can arguably contribute to confuse an event. With this in mind, Farage commented on the Calais migrant crisis and associated it with additional references to immigration and criminality. For example, immigrants were identified as 'swarms' who were attempting to get into his car. The Invasion metaphors have been identified as far-right

discourse, used as a threat of invasion and contamination. Farage targeted Romanians and Bulgarians, describing both groups as 'unacceptable neighbours' and a 'threat to British livelihoods', without any evidence to back up the statement. When comparing metaphors past and present, Farage had commented that 'unprecedented' numbers of Bulgarians and Romanians would come to the UK.

Integration has been one of the most fundamental terms used to separate, us and them. Cultural differences and cultural incompatibility for migrating groups, has been used to direct blame as an unwillingness to adjust to their new cultural norms. From this perspective, the term 'unassailable' (Hargreaves 1997) holds a key theme within the discourse of historical justification and cultural differences. When used in political discourse, identified through the rhetoric of UKIP, unassailable holds significant subtle tones for example, the issue of 'culture' being raised, surrounds differences of culture and specifically the expected norms of behaviour. Although this is not overt racism, it is directed at 'cultural differences'.

In light of UKIPs Eurosceptic rhetoric, this poses a significant question which relates to the idea of empire, that it is acceptable for the UKs unassailability to Europe but not acceptable for two member states to integrate into the UK.

There were limitations to the micro-analysis for example, the approach used an interpretive stance to examine the discursive content and accompanying discourse by observing the headlines, the positioning of articles and accompanying advertising messages. The focus on latent ideological associations maybe for some people, speculative however, for others it maybe a required leap of analytic faith. The method sought a different analytic approach to that of previous critical discourse analysts and was not used to investigate one area of theory however, it can be used to provide a layout for interpretive possibility, as an alternative or as a complimentary analytic

framework. By using different forms of discursive evidence in rhetorical discourse, approaches can fit together pieces of information from a broad spectrum of materials and from this respect, it is a useful tool for future research. The method required a good knowledge of political and economic understanding, as fundamentally it combined a focus on breadth and theoretical insight, with an examination of instantiation at the level of contextual analysis.

Considering the turmoil surrounding UKIP, previously witnessing the party's increased support and directly resulting in the UK's proposed exit from the European Union. The present situation means that UKIP has completed the job it set out to do. However, there remains popular support for closing down immigration and for a 'hard' Brexit (Calhoun 2016). All these issues create an interesting set of circumstances for important research for example, the irony of UKIP on the winning side, the continued support for anti-immigrant views and increased racist incidents (Crines and Heppell 2016). Combined this means at present, a viable political expression through a mainstream party cannot be found. Future research could be further developed to explore the relations of national governance and the groups who support populist parties. It could focus on the nature of populist ideological discourse for example, from this respect, UKIP's hard line approach towards immigration and to defy a satisfactory solution. Additionally, UKIP's anti-elitist rhetoric which is used simultaneously with anti-immigration propaganda post the UK referendum.

Appendix 1: The Daily Herald 3 February 1942

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...launches its spring offensive. It is not possible to maintain a fighter base under severe artillery
—British United Press.

Patriots must know . . .

War — world war — has imperiously reminded us that all food comes from the soil and the sea — and that the labour of harvesting is man's primal task.

To Government and Governed alike has come the realisation of the vital importance of the canning industries in overleaping the seasons, and bringing food at its sun-ripe maturity to the humblest kitchen table on any day of the year.

The 57 Varieties have long inspired liking and trust throughout the community — therefore they were sorely missed when the grocers' shelves gave evidence of temporarily diminished supplies.

But patriots must know that all the time Heinz have been doing a big job of National feeding (supplying the Services, the national food reserves, etc.). More — they must realise that Heinz have steadfastly refused to lower that standard of quality which gave the 57 its great good name.

It may be difficult to secure them, because the demand is large and retail output restricted, but Heinz 57 Varieties remain unchanged in purity, flavour and excellence.

H. J. HEINZ CO. LTD.
LONDON FACTORY



Their
now on
railway
Rangoon
If they
will be
cut off
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But do
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Appendix 2: Daily Herald 5 February 1942

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to avoid taxation.



Symbol of Supremacy

From one generation to another, this vigorous Scot stands as a token of virility, a tribute to the food he sponsors.

Scott's Porage Oats make the perfect breakfast—perfect for energy, perfect for endurance. In them the special flavour and goodness of Scottish oats are at their best—yet they cost no more than other oats.

1-lb. 4³/₄d. 2-lbs. 9¹/₂d.

Scott's Porage Oats

"SCOTLAND'S BEST"

A. & R. SCOTT, LTD., COLINTON, MIDLOTHIAN. Makers of M.O.F. Infant Food

Appendix 3: The Guardian 12 November 2014

Neneh Cherry
30 years
of classic
street style

Liga gentleman
Why David Moyes
is resurrecting his
career in Spain
Sid Lowe

Social grace
How to win
friends and
tweet people

Need more LOLZ

the guardian

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Wednesday 12.11.14
Published in London
and Manchester
theguardian.com

Newspaper of the year
Winner of the
Pulitzer prize

g2

sport

g2

PM warned: no need to alter migrant rules

Cameron backs court decision, but presses on with border control plan

Rowena Mason
Philip Ottmann

David Cameron was last night warned there is no need for fundamental changes to EU immigration rules, after the European court of justice ruled that member states already have the power to stop jobless migrants claiming many benefits for up to five years.

The prime minister welcomed the "common sense" ruling of the Luxembourg court, but the legal decision could hamper his efforts to persuade other EU countries they need to change the fundamental principle of free movement.

In a case relating to a Romanian woman living in Germany, the European judgment made clear that jobless migrants who cannot support themselves and have never worked do not have to be given

But others warned the ruling undermined Cameron's case for reform of freedom of movement rules. Manfred Weber, head of the centre-right European People's party (EPP) group in the European parliament, said: "The ruling sends a very strong message because it highlights that member states have many options and legal tools at their disposal to make sure their social system is not abused, without contesting freedom of movement, which is a basic principle of the EU. It sends a clear signal to the member states that the British prime minister is pro-state."

Cameron has promised to seek changes to the fundamental principle of freedom of movement despite the opposition of the European commission and leading nations including Germany - before offering a referendum by the end of 2017 if he is still in power.

The official German government response to the ruling said: "The right to free movement of persons is a high principle and symbolises the idea behind the EU. But there are limits to the right for equal treatment, which are defined in the European directive on free movement."

Sophie in't Veld, first vice-president of the liberal ALDE grouping in the European parliament, said the ruling was a "blow to those suggesting EU free movement rules need to be dramatically curtailed" because it shows countries already have the ability to stop immigrants taking advantage of their welfare systems.

Simon Simon, Labour's European spokesman on social affairs, also said it demonstrated that strong powers already exist to prevent a small minority of people abusing the system. "Both Germany and Belgium are already using such powers. This weak Tory-led government needs to get a grip and do the same," he said. "Nor is there any evidence for the existence of 'benefit tourism' on any widespread scale. It is a Tory-Ukip myth, invented and peddled for the sake of their own political ends."

Jonathan Porter, director at National Institute of Economic and Social Research,

Continued on page 4 →



'Here you feel like you've really done something'

Lisa O'Carroll
Freetown

Death comes quickly in the Ebola ward. British nurse Will Pooley is back on duty after a mid-morning break when a colleague calls through for a body bag. Inside, 18 patients, from a three-day-old baby to a 75-year-old woman, are fighting for their lives.

A whiteboard in the small administration room next door charts the progress of each patient: "stable", "very weak, push oral intake", "unhappy". The words "escaped but returned back" are scribbled next to one. Cooled by a floor fan, nurses, doctors and support staff in blue scrubs move through the small anteroom next to the isolation ward to register the needs of the desperately ill patients inside as a stream of people knock on the curtain door asking for updates on their loved ones.

Metres away, outside in the street, four Ebola victims lie on benches in a tent erected to deal with the queues of patients who descended on this clinic in Freetown when Ebola first flared up in the Sierra Leonean capital.

Within half an hour, Pooley emerges from the ward drenched in sweat that has built up inside his protective overalls, mask and goggles. Without a word, he walks to the whiteboard and scribbles out the words "weak, push oral intake" for the patient in bed number six and writes in their place: "Died 12/30". The girl was 14.

Within minutes, those words are scribbled out again and replaced with "lab", short for lab results pending for the new resident of bed number six, a 29-year-old man. By the time Pooley's day finishes three more patients will have died.

For the British nurse and his new colleagues, this is business as usual. "We're averaging eight to 10 corpses a day, some of them dead on arrival, there's a dead body every hour or two," he explains later.

Pooley is working for Britain's King's Health Partners, which runs the isolation ward at the busy Gonaught hospital in Freetown. The first and as yet only British person to contract Ebola, he is back in Sierra Leone, two months after making a full recovery, to resume

Continued on page 13 →

The last of 886,246 poppies - each representing a British or Commonwealth soldier killed in the first world war - was placed in the Tower of London moat yesterday to mark Armistice Day Photograph: Peter Macdiarmid/Getty

Paedophile conviction highlights rise of the vigilantes

Robert Booth

The pair of underage girls groomed for sex by a 50-year-old paedophile, Peter Mitchell, could not attend his sentencing at Derby crown court yesterday for one simple reason: they did not exist.

The satisfaction of justice was instead enjoyed by a middle-aged married couple who have become the latest in a wave of vigilante "hunters" who are so frustrated at police inaction to stop online grooming of children that they are taking the law into their own hands.

Mitchell received a three-year community order and was placed on the sex offender register after pleading guilty to coming "Laura" and "Roxie", two fictitious 14-year-olds he met on Facebook,

and possession of images of children. The teenagers - complete with phoney enthusiasts for the singer Ed Sheeran and Labrador puppies - were invented by Brendan Collis, from Derby, and his family under the name Online Predator Investigation Team (OPTIT).

The Collis family watched from the public gallery as Judge John Burgess told Mitchell that there was public revulsion at his "dreadful" crimes. The grounds-

'I understand their anger, but vigilantes are not the answer'

Jim Gamble

man, from Blidworth, Nottinghamshire, worked in schools and sent the fictitious girls pictures of his penis while sitting on his lawnmower.

Despite knowing OPTIT's girls were drunk, and arranged to meet them.

It was the latest of several successful prosecutions following stings by vigilante groups who say they are filling a vacuum left by inadequate policing of the internet. The groups have, however, faced criticism for putting lives and evidence at risk.

The prosecution came as one of the country's leading sex crime experts, Jim Gamble, former director of the national Child Exploitation and Online Protection agency, called for vigilantes to be brought

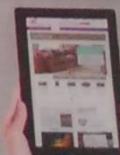
in from the cold to form "a volunteer army" of 1,000 "digital detectives" managed by police.

Gamble attacked the "confused, muddled and incompetent approach by government" to patrolling the internet and said each force could train 20 volunteers to work in police stations on police computers equipped to gather evidence for prosecutions. Such a scheme would cost £1.5m, Gamble said.

"The vigilantes won't go away until we give people a viable alternative," he said. "I understand the type of anger that fuels many of the vigilantes who go online but they are not the answer. They do, however, prove that you don't need to

Continued on page 15 →

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Appendix 4: The Daily Herald 12 June 1939

12th JUNE 1939

You'll feel better for a glass of **PORT**

The real thing — from Oporto in Portugal

Daily Herald

No. 7277

MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1939

SCOTTISH EDITION ONE PENNY

The Riddle of the Ages — for all ages

BRANSTON PICKLE

Union Demands £2 Minimum

BIG CAMPAIGN TO RAISE WAGES FOR WOMEN

CAMPAIGN to establish a general minimum wage for women in the industries for which it caters is to be launched by the Transport and General Workers' Union.

TRANSPORT VOLUNTEERS LEAVE SPAIN—The Portuguese Ambassador in London (left) with the Spanish General Milán y Arce and Mrs. Maria Francisca, Spanish Ambassador in Lisbon, passing through the Plaza Mayor, Salamanca, during the parade on the occasion of the departure of Portuguese volunteers from Spain.

GERMANS PLAN NEW CZECH PURGE

A NAZI purge in Bohemia is predicted in well-informed quarters of Berlin.

This purge, aimed against workers and students of the Czech Republic, is expected to be the sequel to the incident at Kladno, the mining town about 25 miles from Prague, which has been severely punished because a German policeman was shot dead there last week.

Popular Front Campaign Ended

AFTER a statement by Sir Richard Cripps that a Popular Front was not politically practicable, a conference of Labour Party committees in London yesterday decided to wind up the campaign at once.

Local and central committees are now disbanded. Sir Richard said that the petition campaign was at an end. The committees that had sprung up over the country around the petition were now deprived of their reason for existence. The Popular Front was not politically practicable.

A brief survey of the members of the Labour Party, Sir Richard added, "Those who have lost their membership as a result of us have, will, we hope, have our example in applying for re-entrance."

"It is clear, perhaps, who have for the first time come into contact with our committees will see how we have done it."

This step, which was announced by Mr. Ernest Bevin on Saturday, has been decided on by the General Executive Council, which holds that the minimum should not be less than £2 a week.

The executive has been largely influenced by the great increase in the rate of output by women under modern mechanical methods.

These methods have in many industries enormously increased the output per head by men, but the Transport Union executive believes that the proportionate increase in the output by women is even greater.

Oppressed
It holds that the wages paid to women in many callings now bear no proper relation to the value of what they produce.

The executive feels that women are still suffering from that tradition of low wages which so terribly oppressed them in the days before the Great War.

Before the war—writes a special correspondent—the wages of women averaged about 11s. 6d. a week. Wages of 8s. and 10s. were common. A woman who earned 12s. was doing pretty well.

Absurd Fines
The four-loom Lancashire cotton weaver who, in a full week's work, under favourable conditions, might make 20s. was the aristocrat of female labour.

Even such low wages as 8s., 10s., and 12s. were commonly reduced by fines imposed for an astonishing variety of petty "offences"—among them "checking the foreman" and "wearing curl-papers in the hair."

Hours worked, outside the textile trades, were frequently 50 a week, or even longer.

Since the war, trade union organisation and the wide extension of the trade board system have effected a great improvement in the wages rates paid to women.

So much leeway, however, has to be made up that wages in many directions are to-day still very far from being satisfactory, especially when, as the Transport Union executive notes, machinery has substantially increased the value of women's output per head.

7,000,000 Workers

In a fair number of industries to-day women's wages range from about 26s. to 32s., usually for a 48-hours week.

In the jute industry, for example, the women's minimum rate is 36s. 6d. and in the cable-making industry women's wages range from 28s. 6d. to 32s. 6d.

There are about 7,000,000 women employed in the United Kingdom.

Among these 302,000 are engaged in the hotel, boarding-house and restaurant industry, 245,000 in the tobacco, food and drink trades, 85,000 in engineering, 237,000 in various other metal trades and 64,000 in the chemical, paint and oil trades.

KING AND QUEEN AT PICNIC

AFTER New York's great reception, the King and Queen enjoyed a much-needed respite at President Roosevelt's Hyde-park house yesterday.

The Royal Standard, the Union Jack, the Stars and Stripes and the President's flag fluttered side by side over the house when they arrived after a two-hour car journey from New York.

They were received on the steps by the President and his wife.

The King and Queen later had a picnic with the Roosevelt family in the grounds of the house (laten Reader).

During the drive from New York the King and Queen experienced the thrill of a real American "motorcade," comprising 14 limousines, which sped along beautiful parkways and through the valley of the Hudson River.

The whole 75-mile route to Hyde Park was closed to ordinary traffic, enabling the King and Queen to be escorted by 11 motor-cycle police with British and American flags mounted on their handlebars, to travel at 30 miles an hour.

"Mayor's Ultimatum"—See Page Seven

Countess' Gold Mine Suit

AN action brought by the executors of the late Earl of Dysart in connection with shares he bought in a gold-mining company is down for hearing before a special jury in the King's Bench Division on Thursday.

One of Lord Dysart's executors is the Countess of Dysart. The defendants in the action include James Gold Mines, Ltd., and Sir Edward Fletcher.

Sir Patrick Hastings, K.C., is among the eminent counsel briefed in the case.

The Countess of Dysart, who is aged 49, became a peeress in her own right on the death of her uncle, the ninth Earl of Dysart.

The Dysart title—a Scottish one—carries a special remainder to heirs, male and female.

Caretaker Is Best Shot

The Scottish rifle championship at Dunscore range on Saturday was won by Robert Leggie, a caretaker in the Glasgow offices of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.

Leggie, 41, of 10, Winton Road, Glasgow, was second.

KILLED BY BEES AFTER RACE FOR AID

WITH a swarm of bees clinging to him a man ran through a village street crying for help.

The man, Mr. Henry Cropper, of Orington, near Melton Mowbray, reached the garden gate of a neighbour, but collapsed in agony.

Villagers rushed to his aid, but before a doctor could reach him from Melton Mowbray he died.

Mr. Cropper, a 50-years-old plumber, was the owner of the bees, which, it is believed, were in the act of swarming when they attacked him.

Mystery of Girl's Head and Limbs In Wood

IDENTITY KEPT SECRET

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

«HOLDS (Near Leeds), Sunday. A HEDGE sparrow fluttering through a wood caused the discovery in this old-world village yesterday of a murder which to-night is engaging the whole resources of the C.I.D.s of the West Riding and Leeds.

Following the flight of the bird along a hawthorn hedge surrounding Leggett Wood a naturalist stumbled across three parcels lying in the ditch running under the hedgerow.

He prodded one with his stick.

The head of a girl, whom the police have since identified as a resident of Leeds, tumbled out of the brown paper wrapping.

In the other two parcels the left leg and left arm of a girl were found wrapped in newspaper.

Since the discovery a search by more than 100 policemen has been made over miles of countryside for the torso, the missing arm and leg.

The naturalist, a painter and decorator by trade, Charles Bowman, of Oak-terrace, Cross Gates, Leeds, went into Leggett Wood, in Barwick-lane, on the outskirts of Leeds, to observe and photograph a bird's nest.

The girl's head had been severed in a very rough fashion. A chopper or some similar instrument, the police believe, was used.

The light brown hair had been cut short to the length of a man's, apparently since death.

The double sheet of brown paper in which the head was wrapped bore a label addressed to Messrs. Gidder Bros., Kirkstall, Leeds, from W.M.M. and Co. There was a letter under the name of the second firm, which is stated to be a well-known Manchester firm of textile manufacturers.

"It would greatly hinder our investigations if the Press disclosed the girl's identity at this time," said Superintendent Blackburn, who is in charge of inquiries.

"Widows' Mites" For Thetis Fund

A donation of £100 from Barr and Wood, Ltd., was received by the Thetis fund for the Thetis disaster dependants in Glasgow on Saturday.

The latest list of donations includes "A Widow's Mite" of 5s. and 2s. from "A Sailor's Widow."

Funds are also being collected by Dundee, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Greenock.

AT THE SOUP AND LADLE

By Ronald Matthews

See Page Seventeen

Page 6—Isle of My Dreams: By H. V. Martin.

18—A Message of New Hope: Letters: Roundabout.

17—Radio.

Over 2,000,000 Daily For More Than Five Years

WHERE the parcel was found at the side of the main road from Barwick to Scholes and Leeds.

Terriers Man Guns

YESTERDAY was "zero hour" for manning the anti-aircraft defences of the country. Thousands of Territorials went to their war stations.

Roads entered to the rattle of guns being towed to their appointed positions.

For a fortnight members of Territorial anti-aircraft regiments, called up under the Reserve and Auxiliary Forces Act, have been in camp getting firing practice.

Now the guns will be kept at their war stations continuously manned. Besides the guns each battery has its searchlights and sound locators, and its height and range finders are fully manned.

21-Days Strike Wins Pay Rise

Masons and plasterers in West employed by one of the prominent contracting firms in the North of Scotland have won a victory after a strike lasting only two and a-half days.

'NEXT TIME I SHALL KNOW BETTER'

HOUSEOWNER: "Just look at that door—and I only had it painted last year."

NEIGHBOUR: "Um, looks as if you've been sold a pup, my friend. Or did you do it on the cheap?"

HOUSEOWNER: "I had the decorator along and he blamed me because I didn't take his advice and have it done with White Lead Paint. I've got to have it painted again and you can bet your life it's going to be White Lead Paint this time."

White Lead Paints are now obtainable with Hard Gloss, Flat Oil or Oil Gloss finishes.

Any information about White Lead Paint can be obtained from LEAD INDUSTRIES DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL, Dept. D.L., 38, King William Street, London, E.C.4.

Tel: (Mainline) 3000 (3 lines).

IN WHITE OR COLOURS

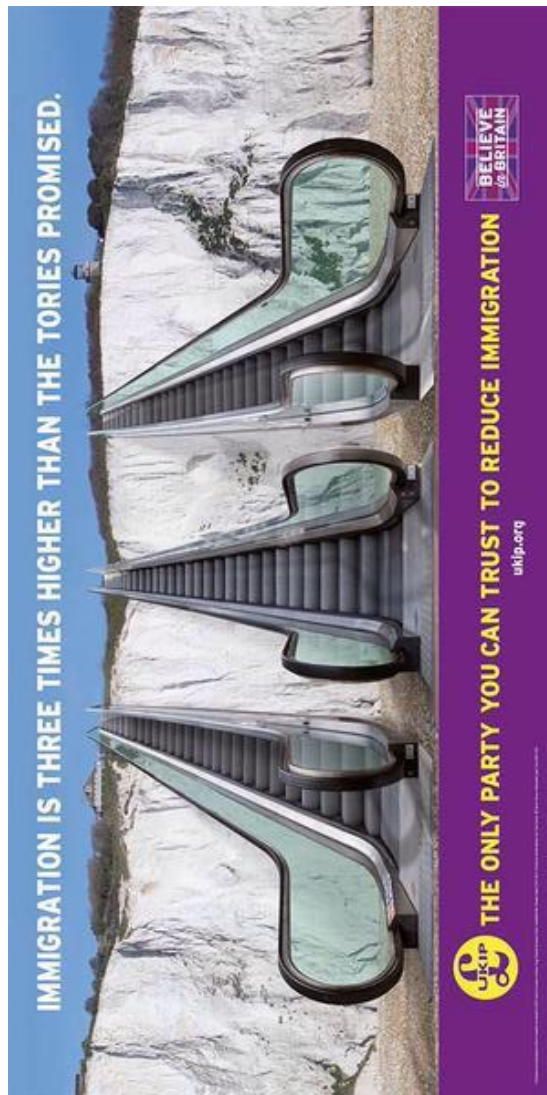
WHITE LEAD PAINT LASTS

Appendix 5: The Daily Herald 5 February 1942

Miller is now calling on all his minor satellites to supply armies against Russia.




Appendix 6: The Guardian 12 November 2014



Appendix 7: UKIP political campaign leaflet (regional)

Your UKIP team for Rotherham
Jane Collins ● Steve Webster





Our Pledge to Rotherham Residents

- UKIP opposes the "bedroom tax" because it operates unfairly and penalises the most vulnerable in our community
- UKIP will keep the NHS free at the point of need and clamp down on so-called "health tourism"
- UKIP would reduce foreign aid from £11bn to £2bn and use the savings to provide better public services and infrastructure
- UKIP will support our brave forces veterans - guaranteeing them priority on social housing waiting lists and a job in either the border force, prison service or the police
- UKIP will fight for controlled migration. This will ease pressure on Rotherham's housing, medical and education services
- Steve is committed to joining the other UKIP Rotherham councillors in fighting council waste and promoting openness and transparency

Jane and Steve would like to hear about your local concerns and what changes you think could improve your quality of life in Rotherham.

Please call into our shop at 27 Wellgate, call us on 01709 372831 or email us at ukipshop@jane4rotherham.org



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